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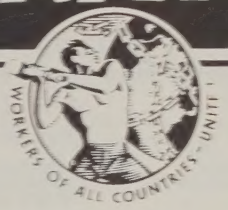

L. XV NO. 1

STALIN AND DIMITROFF SPEAK TO THEIR ELECTORS

THE NEW WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS
By E. VARGA

RALLY CLOSER THE RANKS OF THE PEOPLE'S FRONT
By JOSÉ DIAZ

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Stalin Speaks to His Electors

COMRADES, I confess I had no intention of speaking.* But our esteemed Nikita Sergeyevich [Khrushchev—Secretary of the Moscow Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union] brought me out here, so to speak, to the meeting: "Deliver a good speech," he said. What shall I speak about, what kind of speech, precisely? Everything that it was necessary to say before the elections has already been said and reiterated in the speeches of our leading Comrades Kalinin, Molotov, Voroshilov, Kaganovich, Yezhov and many other responsible comrades. What else can be added to these speeches?

It is said that an elucidation of some questions of the election campaign is necessary. What elucidation, of what question? Everything that it was necessary to elucidate has already been elucidated again and again in the well known appeals of the Party of the Bolsheviks, of the Young Communist League, of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, of Osoaviakhim, of the Committee of Physical Culture. What else can be added to this elucidation?

Of course, it would be possible to deliver a sort of speech in a light vein about everything and nothing. Possibly such a speech would have entertained the public. It is said that there are masters of such speeches not only in the capitalist countries but also in our country, in the Soviet land. But, first, I am not a master of such speeches and, second, is it worth while now to occupy ourselves with entertainment, when all of us Bolsheviks are "up to our ears in work," as the saying goes? I think it is not worth while.

It is clear that under such conditions you don't make a good speech.

All the same, however, since I have taken the floor, and, of course, somehow or other I must at least say something.

First of all I should like to express thanks to the electors for the trust they have shown.

I have been nominated for deputy, and the Election Commission of the Stalin district of the Soviet capital has certified me as candidate for deputy. This, comrades, is a great trust. Permit me to extend to you my profound Bolshevik thanks for the confidence which you have shown in the Party of Bolsheviks of which I am a member, and in me personally, as a representative of this Party.

I know what confidence means. It naturally imposes upon me new additional obligations, and consequently new additional responsibility. Well, with us Bolsheviks it isn't customary to shirk responsibility. I willingly accept it. For my part I should like to assure you, comrades, that you may confidently rely upon Comrade Stalin. You may count upon it that Comrade Stalin will be able to fulfil his duty to the people, to the working class, to the peasantry, to the intellectuals.

Further, I should like, comrades, to congratulate you upon the approaching all-people's holiday, upon the day of elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union.

The forthcoming elections are not simply elections, comrades. They are really an all-people's holiday of our workers, our peasants, our intelligentsia. Never yet in the world have there been such truly free and truly democratic elections, never! History doesn't know of another such example. The point isn't

* Speech of Comrade Stalin at a meeting of electors of the "Stalin" Election District, Moscow, Dec. 11, at the Bolshoi Theatre.

that we shall have elections, universal, equal, secret and direct, although this in itself is of great significance. The point is that the universal elections will be conducted in our country as the freest elections and the most democratic, as compared with the elections in any other country in the world.

Universal elections proceed and take place also in some capitalist countries, in so-called democratic ones. But in what conditions do the elections proceed there? In conditions of class conflicts, in conditions of class enmity, in conditions of pressure on the electors on the part of capitalists, landlords, bankers and other sharks of capitalism. Such elections, even though universal, equal, secret and direct, cannot be called entirely free and entirely democratic elections.

With us, in our country, on the contrary, elections proceed in entirely different conditions. We have no capitalists, no landlords, consequently there is no pressure by propertied classes on the propertyless. With us, elections proceed in conditions of cooperation of workers, peasants and the intellectuals, in conditions of mutual trust, in conditions, I would say, of mutual friendship, because we have no capitalists, no landlords, no exploitation, and there is nobody, properly speaking, to exercise pressure on the people to distort their will.

That is why our elections are the only really free and really democratic in the whole world.

Such free and truly democratic elections could arise only on the basis of the triumph of the socialist order, only on the basis of the fact that in our country socialism is not merely being built, but has become part of the life, of the everyday life of the people.

Some ten years ago the question whether it was possible to build socialism in our country or not could have been discussed. Today this is no longer a question of discussion. Today it is a question of facts, a question of living reality, a reality that permeates the entire life of the people.

Our factories and mills work without capitalists. The work is directed by men of the people. This is what we call socialism in practice. On our fields, the toilers of the land work without landlords, without kulaks. The work is directed by men of the people. This is what we call socialism in everyday life, this is what we call a free socialist life.

It is on this foundation that new, truly free and truly democratic elections have arisen in our country, elections of which there is no example in the history of mankind.

How, then, after this, is it possible not to congratulate you upon the day of popular celebrations, the day of elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union!

Further, I should like, comrades, to give you advice, the advice of a candidate for deputy to his electors. If we take the capitalist countries, there exist between the deputies and electors singular, I would say, rather curious relations. While the elections are in progress, the deputies flirt with the voters, fawn upon them, vow their loyalty, hand out a batch of all kinds of promises. It would appear that the dependence of the deputies on the voters is complete. As soon as the elections have been held and the candidates have become deputies, the relations alter radically. Instead of the dependence of the deputies on the voters, their complete independence obtains. For the duration of four or five years, aye, right up to the new elections, the deputy feels perfectly free, independent of the people, of his electors. He may pass over from one camp to another. He may swerve from the right path to the wrong path, he may even involve himself in certain machinations of a rather dubious character, he may turn somersaults as much as he pleases—he is independent.

Can such relations be considered normal? By no means, comrades. This circumstance was taken into account by our Constitution, and it introduced a law under which the electors have the right to recall their deputies before their term expires, if they begin to equivocate, if they swerve from the path, if they forget their dependence on the people, on the voters.

This is a remarkable law, comrades. The deputy must know that he is a servant of the people, their envoys in the Supreme Soviet, and he must conduct

himself along the line of the instructions given him by the people. Once he swerves from the path, the electors have the right to demand the holding of new elections and they have the right to blackball the deputy who has swerved from the path.

This is a remarkable law. My advice, the advice of a candidate for deputy to his electors, is to remember this right of the electors—the right to recall the deputies before their term expires, to watch over their deputies, control them and should they take it into their heads to swerve from the right path, get rid of them, to demand new elections.

The government is obliged to call elections. My advice is to remember this law and make use of it, if need be.

Finally, another bit of advice of a candidate for deputy to his electors. What should in general be demanded of the deputies, to take the most elementary of all possible demands?

The electors, the people, must demand of their deputies that they remain equal to their tasks, that in their work they should not descend to the level of political philistines, that they remain at their posts as public men of the type of Lenin, that they stand out as clear and definite public men as Lenin, that they be just as fearless in battle and as merciless toward the enemies of the people as was Lenin, that they be free of all panic, of all semblance of panic when things become complicated and when some danger appears on the horizon, that they be just as free of any semblance of panic as Lenin was free, that they be just as sagacious and deliberate in deciding difficult questions, which require an all-round orientation and all-round consideration of all pros and cons, as was Lenin, that they be just as truthful and honest as was Lenin, that they love their people as Lenin loved them.

Can we say that all candidates for deputy are public men of just such a type? I would not say so. There are all sorts of people in the world, there are all sorts of public men in the world. There are people of whom you cannot tell what they are, whether they are good or bad, courageous or cowardly, whether they are completely for the people, or whether they are for the enemies of the people. There are such people, and there are such public men. We, too, have them among the Bolsheviks. You know yourselves, comrades, there is no family without its freak. About such people of indeterminate type, about people who remind one more of political philistines than of public men, about people of such an indefinite, indeterminate type, the great Russian writer Gogol said rather aptly: "People of indeterminate character, neither here nor there, you cannot make them out—in the city they are not Bogdan, neither are they in the village Selifan."

There is also a rather pointed folk-saying about such indeterminate people and public men: "A man who is neither fish nor fowl; neither a candle for God, nor a poker for the Devil."

I cannot say with complete assurance that among the candidates for deputy (I very much apologize to them, of course) and among our public men there are not such who remind one rather of political philistines, who by their character, by their physiognomy, remind one of the people of the type about whom the saying goes: "Neither a candle for God nor a poker for the Devil."

Comrades, I should like you to exercise your influence systematically over your deputies, to impress upon them that they keep before them the great image of the great Lenin and emulate Lenin in everything.

The functions of the voters do not end with the elections. They continue throughout the period of the existence of the Supreme Soviet of the given term. I have already spoken of the law which gives the voters the right to recall their deputies before their term expires, if the latter should swerve from the correct path. Hence, it is the duty and the right of the electors constantly to exercise control over their deputies and to impress upon them that on no account should they descend to the level of political philistines, that they, the electors, should impress upon their deputies to be such as was the great Lenin.

Such, comrades, is my second bit of advice to you, the advice of a candidate for deputy to his electors.

Dimitroff Speaks to His Electors

COMRADES, allow me, first of all, in your persons to thank the working people of the Kostroma constituency* for the confidence which they have shown me, by putting forward my candidacy for deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

I was a deputy of the working class in the Bulgarian parliament for ten years prior to the fascist *coup d'etat* of 1923, prior to my enforced emigration from Bulgaria. I then considered it a high honor for myself to be the representative of the Bulgarian working class, of the working class of the country where I was born and grew up, of the country the working class of which waged, and is now waging, a ruthless, unswerving struggle against fascism. But, comrades, I must say that the confidence which you have shown me by putting me forward as your candidate for deputy to the Supreme Soviet of our great socialist fatherland—the fatherland of the entire international proletariat, of the whole of progressive mankind, this confidence places far greater obligations on me than the confidence expressed in me as the representative of the working class of Bulgaria. And it goes without saying that it is a matter of honor for me fully to justify your confidence, the confidence of the land of the Soviets.

Comrades! The whole of our boundless country, from Leningrad to Kamchatka, from Odessa to the Arctic, is preparing for the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on December 12 with unparalleled fervor and enthusiasm.

These are no ordinary elections. The Soviet elections on the basis of the great Stalin Constitution are not at all like the parliamentary elections of the capitalist countries. The Stalin Constitution embodies and consolidates socialist democratism. The socialist democratism is possible and is being fulfilled in only one country in the world, in the Soviet Union where classes have been abolished, where there is no exploitation of man by man. In the Soviet land there is the community of interests of the entire people, there is the common aims of building socialism, the supreme aim of bringing about communism. Here no hostile classes come forward at the elections. Here there are no hostile parties at the elections. The working people of the Soviet Union come forward in a single bloc of the whole people; the party of the Bolsheviks, as the Central Committee states in its appeal, comes forward in a bloc, in alliance with the non-Party workers, peasants, office employees and intellectuals.

The land of victorious socialism is entering the elections and is electing the best representatives from among its sons and daughters to the Supreme organs of the country, so as to enable the well-being of the Soviet people to grow further, so as to enable this people to advance with solid forces along the road to the achievement of communism.

Just look, comrades, at the way elections take place in the capitalist countries. Even in the most democratic capitalist countries a tremendous number of electors are deprived of the right to vote by the election qualifications required. In a number of these countries women are still deprived of the right to vote.

* Speech of Georgi Dimitroff at an election meeting of voters of the town of Kostroma, held on December 8, 1937.

In the carrying through of the elections the entire state machine is placed at the service of the ruling bourgeois parties. A tremendous number of newspapers, an extensive press, deceive the electors, deceive the elector whose political consciousness is weak and who is economically dependent on voting not for his own true representatives, but for his enemies. Millions in money are spent on bribing the press, party leaders, speakers and electors, and the most unrestrained demogagy is engaged in.

Comrades, it is difficult for you who have not been abroad and have not seen an election campaign there, to imagine the extent of this electoral demagogy, and the forms which it takes. I call to mind, for instance, the following characteristic and at the same time comic episode of an election campaign in Bulgaria.

The leader of a democratic party was travelling around from village to village, delivering demagogic speeches. In one village he said to the peasants: "If you vote for us, for our party, for my candidature, we shall build you a bridge." Said the peasants in amazement: "But we have no river; why do we need a bridge, when there is no river in the village."

The democratic leader replied, without turning a hair: "Well then, we shall supply you with a river as well."

In the Soviet land there is no need for demogagy. In our country there is no need for bribery, for falsification during the elections. The entire state machine, the entire press are placed at the service of the Soviet people. Everything is directed towards enabling the electors to make use of their sacred right to vote.

Not only are no obstacles, no difficulties placed in the way of the utilization of electoral rights, but on the contrary, thousands of speakers, thousands of Bolsheviks and non-Party people are engaged in an explanatory campaign among the electors. And among you here in Kostroma, as I see, there is not a single home where explanations have not been given of how the voting will take place, where it will take place, and the meaning and significance of this voting. In the Soviet Union we are interested in all Soviet electors turning out to vote on December 12. The Bolshevik Party has no need of any demagogy. The Bolshevik Party comes before the electors with a most powerful weapon—*the truth*. It comes before the electors with the splendid results of twenty years of Soviet power. This is the most powerful argument in favor of the election program of the Party, in favor of the candidates of the Soviet people.

What are the most important of these results?

They are, first, that the Soviet land has become transformed from a backward, medieval, uncultured, poverty-stricken country, such as tsarist Russia was, where the working people were oppressed and without rights, into an advanced, cultured, powerful socialist state. The days have long gone by when enemies and men of little faith were asserting that the Soviet power would last for three months, then, they said, for six months, then for a year, and at the most two years. Well, now twenty years have gone by and the first result is that the Soviet power has not only withstood all trials, has not only beaten off the numerous attacks of the enemy, but has also transformed a backward, medieval country into a great socialist state.

Second, the capitalist system of economy and the exploiting classes have been liquidated once and for all; the private ownership of the instruments and means of production has been liquidated; exploitation has been abolished. This is the only country in the world where there is no exploitation of man by man. Socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production is confirmed as the firm basis of socialist society. This basis guarantees the stormy development of the whole of our socialist industry. The total volume of the output of our Soviet, socialist factories and industrial plants is more than eight times in excess of the pre-war output of industry. At no point during the entire period of the existence

of capitalist society was the tempo of the development of industry equal to that during the period of the two Stalinist Five-Year Plans.

Third, in place of the more than twenty million scattered individual peasant farms with their poor technique and their dependence on landowners and kulaks, large-scale socialist farms have grown up and become consolidated, free from landowners and kulaks. Over 243,-000 collective farms are plentifully supplied with tractors, combines and other agricultural machines. The output of collective farm agriculture together with that of the State farms is now twice the output of agriculture in pre-war days.

Fourth, a fundamental improvement in the conditions of all working people is guaranteed. Unemployment has been abolished finally and for all time. This unemployment which was a chronic phenomenon in tsarist Russia, and is a scourge from which tens of millions of working people are now suffering in the capitalist countries, has been rooted out in the Soviet Union. We here have no surplus labor power, but are short of it. Uncertainty as to the morrow is a thing of the past. All those who wish to work, all those who wish to do honest labor in our Soviet land, will always find a wide field for the application of their strength and capabilities. The Stalin Constitution guarantees all the working people of the Soviet Union *the right to work, the right to leisure, the right to education, the right to material security in old age.*

Call to mind the position in the village before the revolution. *Over forty million of the poor population* were doomed to hunger and poverty. The Soviet system has done away with the landowners, destroyed kulak bondage, and handed over to the peasants over 150,000,000 hectares of landlord and kulak lands, secured the victory of the collective farm system, secured the peasants the possibility of a prosperous and cultured life.

Further, tsarist Russia was a country of darkness and ignorance, where the overwhelming majority of the population were illiterate. Now thirty million children receive instruction in the Soviet schools, now over 90 per cent of the population of the country are literate, and in the near future there will not be a single illiterate person in the Soviet Union. As to the achievements of science and art, they are the property of all citizens of the Soviet Union.

An especially important victory is what Soviet power *has done for women.* Women were slaves in tsarist Russia. They have been and are now slaves in the capitalist countries. We may boldly assert that only in the Soviet Union are women free citizens of the country, possessing equal rights. They are advancing shoulder to shoulder with the men in the building of socialism and the administration of the state. And in your Kostroma area, especially in the town of Kostroma, one can even say that it is the *men who are advancing shoulder to shoulder with the women,* since a large section of the leaders here are women. Comrades, there is only one country in the world, and that is the Soviet Union, where from the village Soviet to the supreme organs of our country, the reins of leadership are in the hands of women as well, of wise women who are devoted to the people, and who cope with their work no worse and in some cases even better than many men.

Comrades, tsarist Russia was a prison of the peoples, was a land of national oppression, where national discord was developed to the uttermost limits: Armenians were against Georgians, Georgians against Armenians, Russians against Ukrainians, Ukrainians against Russians, etc. The tsarist government, the capitalists and landowners, were interested in deepening this mutual distrust, this national hostility, which exists now as well in all capitalist countries. Soviet power destroyed mutual distrust, destroyed national discord between the peoples of the Soviet Union, and now the Soviet Union is a united socialist state built up on mutual confidence, on equality and the voluntary association of the peoples of the Soviet Union, is the

only country in the world where the relations between the peoples are based on a fraternal alliance and harmonious collaboration. Should any region, any people of the Soviet Union break away from the common united state, it would not only thereby bring harm to the entire Soviet state, but would inevitably itself be doomed to foreign imperialist bondage. The free existence, development, prosperity of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. are only possible if there are their joint collaboration and solidarity in the ranks of the great state of victorious socialism. And hence it is clear that all the agents of fascism who have foully tried to tear separate parts, separate territories, away from the Soviet state are deserving of universal hatred and contempt and are to be ruthlessly destroyed.

Finally, tsarist Russia was a buttress of the blackest reaction in the world. Tsarist Russia played the part of gendarme in relation to all the revolutionary, democratic movements in Europe. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, is the supreme buttress of the liberation movement of the international proletariat and of all oppressed peoples, a tremendous factor of liberty, progress and culture. Whereas, for example, all progressive elements abroad regarded tsarist Russia with hatred, and only the landowners and reactionaries based themselves on it, the Soviet Union, on the other hand, is now a force, a factor uniting around itself all that is democratic, progressive and advanced in all countries of the world. To be a friend of the Soviet Union, to be close to the Soviet Union, is the supreme pride of all the foremost minds of mankind.

The results of twenty years of Soviet power call forth the universal admiration of all working people abroad. Delegations come to us, to the Soviet Union from all countries, and these delegations are made up not only of Communists but also of Socialists and non-Party people. No small number of these people come to us prejudiced, being under the influence of the fascist, reactionary and anti-Soviet press, and this press, as is well known, lies without bounds or measure. These delegations, however, return home with the most positive and enthusiastic impressions. Declarations have only just been received from the last delegations which were here on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the great October socialist revolution. With your permission I shall read you a few extracts from the declarations of the French and Belgian delegations.

Here, for instance, is what the French delegation writes:

"We consider that every conscientious person can and must recognize that in the U.S.S.R.:

"1. The exploitation of man by man has been completely abolished.

"2. Heavy industry has been established, thus providing the Soviet land with the necessary base for socialist construction.

"3. Socialism has also been established in the village, as a result of the organization of extensive collective farms, on the basis of the utilization of the most up-to-date equipment, and, what is more, the working people of the villages enjoy the same rights and have the same obligations as their comrades in the towns.

"4. The gains of the October Revolution have enabled the working people in the U.S.S.R. to enjoy the benefits of the Stalin Constitution which establishes real democracy for all the Soviet peoples.

"5. Women play an active part, and on a basis of complete equality with men, in both economic construction and in the social and political life of the country."

And further:

"We were able everywhere to estimate the ardent will of the citizens of the Soviet Union for peace, a will basing itself on the Red Army—a real army of the peoples and a buttress of peace—a will which is equally expressed in the existence of the Franco-Soviet Mutual Assistance Pact, for the preservation and extension of which we must do everything possible."

The Belgian delegation stated in their declaration:

"There was no sphere of the activity of the Soviet government which did not produce a favorable impression on us. We desire here to enumerate all the objects we visited and to note the feeling of admiration which they aroused in us on each occasion.

"We saw the Red Army, a mass demonstration, the people in the streets, in the stores, in offices. We saw theatres, the cinema, the underground railway, the Dnieproges, factories and industrial plants, sanatoria and rest homes, schools, institutes, universities, etc. Everywhere their intense life, permeated with the ardent spirit of socialist construction unfolded itself before our eyes."

One could quote many such declarations.

Comrades, all these splendid successes, all these tremendous achievements have been secured by the working people of the U.S.S.R. under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of the geniuses of mankind, Lenin and Stalin. These successes need to be strengthened and developed further.

If I, as candidate, am asked: what is our program; suppose we elect you, what will you carry through? I could answer in two words: *consolidate these successes, develop them further until the complete fulfilment of communism. That is our program.*

Comrades, the Soviet elections are taking place in an exceptionally tense international situation. It is no accident that not only friends are interested and rejoice at the development of our election campaign, but our enemies are also keeping a particularly sharp eye on the progress of the election campaign in the country, since the elections are of tremendous international importance. The reactionary fascist forces in the capitalist countries are spurring mankind on to a new world war. The fascist warmongers of Berlin, Rome and Tokyo are waging war. For a year and a half already war has been going on in Spain against the heroic Spanish people. War is being waged against the Spanish people, against the Spanish republic, not only by a handful of generals, but also by the German and Italian interventionists employing their armies and armaments.

For several months already the Japanese militarists have been waging war against the great Chinese people, against the independence of China. War on a big scale is being feverishly prepared by the fascists with the toleration of the bourgeois-democratic powers. It is clear to everybody that had the French and British fleets undertaken energetic action against the fascist blockade of Republican Spain, the war in Spain would, of course, have ended long ago in victory for the Spanish people. Had Great Britain, the U.S.A., and France undertaken unanimous action against the Japanese aggressors in China, the Japanese militarists would not have been able to display their monstrous audacity. Instead the bourgeois-democratic governments even sacrifice the interests of their own peoples and engage in the comedy of "non-intervention," thereby still further encouraging the fascist interventionists.

The menace of a new world war is growing. And this war would long ago have begun had it not been, first and foremost, for such a factor of peace as the Soviet Union, had it not been for the fact that the united People's Front against fascism and war has been constituted and has grown in the capitalist countries. By its consistent peace policy, by its socialist industry, by its collectivized agriculture, by its Stakhanov movement, by its glorious Red Army, Red Airfleet and Red Navy, by its example and influence, the Soviet Union strengthens the world front of the working people against war. It is not so simple to attack the Soviet Union. It is far easier to attack Spain, China, Austria, and Czechoslovakia. To undertake a military campaign against the powerful Soviet Union is a somewhat risky affair for the fascists of Berlin, Tokyo and Rome.

The question arises, then, on what are the fascist warmongers calculating in the carrying through of their plans against the great land of socialism? It

would be in place to call to mind how last year, in November, during the Congress of the German fascists in Nuremberg all possible efforts were made to provoke the Soviet Union to war. It is now clear that the German fascists were relying, in case of war, on the aid of the bribed agents of fascism, the mortal enemies of the Soviet people, the Trotsky-Bukharinite traitors to the socialist fatherland. The bloc of the fascist states counted on their agents in the Soviet Union. But the fascists miscalculated. They failed in this, thanks to the iron will of the iron people of our Party, of the Central Committee of our Party, and of Comrade Stalin. The paid agents of fascism who were causing harm to our country were wiped out. It must be said outright that the crushing of the Trotsky-Bukharinite agents of fascism, spies, diversionists, wreckers in our country is a *tremendous defeat for the warmongers.* Their cards are all mixed up, the threads have been broken, their agents have to come to grief. The iron hand* of Comrade Yezhov was clenched in time and hit the mark. This iron hand, comrades, is strong because it is based on the Party, on the Soviet people, on those who are leading the country forward, because it is fulfilling the unyielding will of the Soviet people, the healthy, strong, young Soviet people, against the rotten, decayed, stinking corpses of the agents of fascism, who sold themselves to the enemy.

Comrades, there is not, nor can there be any mercy for the enemies of the people. He who, like Judas, has sold the socialist fatherland for thirty pieces of silver, has to be ruthlessly wiped out. He who has agreed with the fascists to tear the Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Amur Region and other territories away from the single socialist state deserves to be ruthlessly destroyed. He who strives for the restoration of the power of the capitalists and landowners must unhesitatingly be wiped off the face of the earth in the interests of the great land of socialism, in the interests of the international proletariat, in the interests of the international proletarian revolution.

Soviet society, comrades, is a society of builders of socialism surrounded by hostile capitalist powers, a society of fighters whose historic mission it is to be the vanguard of the whole of progressive mankind. The whole world is looking at the Soviet Union. The oppressed millions direct their gaze and their hopes towards our Soviet land. The future of the whole of mankind depends to a considerable extent on our Soviet Union. Such an historic role, such an historic responsibility, make it the obligation of the Soviet people not to indulge in any rotten humanitarianism and flabbiness in relation to the enemies of the people, spies and diversionists who strive to destroy socialist construction. It would bring shame on a socialist fighter, a socialist patriot to spare them.

What would you say of collective farmers who began to display benevolence towards a wolf that had made its way into their collective farm flock? What would you advise the collective farmers? To welcome the wolf as a guest? You would advise them to take hold of cudgels or anything at hand, and destroy it. What would you say of a mother who displayed benevolence towards a poisonous snake creeping towards her child? Would you advise her not to touch it and to allow the deathly poison to penetrate the body of her child, instead of destroying the snake? No, comrades, these wolves and snakes which disgrace the human figure, however they may disguise themselves, deserve nothing other than destruction. Let the fascists in Berlin, Rome and Tokyo shed tears for their agents, but the Soviet people, the international proletariat and the whole of progressive mankind will be thankful that the enemies of the people have fallen into Yezhov's iron hand and have been rendered harmless. History will thankfully

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* Literally—hedgehog gloves—a pun on the name of Yezhov, People's Commissar of Home Affairs. Yezhov is the adjectival form of Yezh—a hedgehog.—*The Editors.*

record the fact that the Land of Socialism settled accounts ruthlessly with the Trotsky-Bukharinite agents of fascism and spies of every kind.

Comrades, on December 12 we shall vote not only for the candidates put forward by the bloc of the Bolshevik Party and the non-Party people, we shall vote for the free and happy life guaranteed by the victories of socialism in the U.S.S.R. We shall vote against barbarous fascism and the fascist warmongers! We shall vote against the enemies of the people—for the ruthless destruction of all agents and accomplices of fascism.

By voting for the candidates put forward by the bloc of the Communists and non-party people, we shall at the same time be voting for the glorious Bolshevik Party, for our leader and teacher, great Stalin, the one who embodies the moral and political unity of the Soviet people, the inspirer and organizer of socialist victories.

To vote consciously for the candidates of the Party of Lenin-Stalin, means to give a solemn vow to the Soviet land and Party:

To be true to the end to the socialist fatherland.

To participate with all one's strength in the building of socialist society, and to guard the unity and brotherhood of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. as the apple of one's eye.

To fight against the Trotsky-Bukharinite agents of fascism and the myrmidons of capital.

As regards me, personally, as a Soviet elector and as your candidate, you need have no doubts, comrades, that I will continue in the future to be an honest soldier of the proletarian revolution and will remain to the end of my life true to the great Party of Lenin-Stalin.

Under the banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, socialism has triumphed finally and irrevocably over one-sixth of the earth.

Under this great invincible banner, under the guidance of Stalin, the wise man of steel, leader of the peoples, socialism will triumph throughout the whole world.

The Triumph of Soviet Democracy

A YEAR ago the Soviet Union adopted the Stalin Constitution. This constitution of victorious socialism marks a new, socialist era in the development of human society. In the Stalin Constitution there are recorded the greatest rights of man, won as a result of strenuous and heroic struggle for the victory of socialism.

The adoption of the constitution marked a new, unparalleled development of democracy. Real socialist democratism is only possible in a country where the exploiting classes have been abolished, where capitalism and the private ownership of the means of production have been done away with, and where all the able-bodied population work for the common welfare of the socialist fatherland.

The Stalin Constitution was raised aloft as a banner for all mankind, the banner of socialism victorious, as the real expression of the greatest victory in the history of the proletariat and working people generally, a victory won under the leadership of the Communist Party. It bore testimony to the flourishing of true socialist democracy in the land of the Soviets.

Steadfastly fulfilling socialist democracy, the Soviet government conducted the elections to the Supreme Soviet on the basis of the Stalin Constitution. The elections took place on the basis of universal, direct, equal suffrage and secret ballot. According to the Stalin Constitution and the Electoral Law, there are no restrictions upon the electoral rights of the population by reason of sex, race, nationality, property, educational or domiciliary qualifications, social origin, etc.

The citizens of the Soviet Union, free workers of a socialist land, went to the ballot box imbued with the one feeling and the desire of electing the most worthy deputies, people loyal to the socialist fatherland. No pressure from propertied classes was or could be exerted, upon the working people participating in the elections. Capitalist employers could not bring pressure to bear upon the worker-electors, for there are no capitalists in the Soviet country; in the villages landlords and kulaks could not bring pressure to bear upon the peasants, for there are no landlords and kulaks in the Soviet country. The financial plutocracy, the press which serves the bourgeoisie, could not weave their intrigues and pursue a policy of deceiving the electors, for there has long been no place on Soviet soil for financial magnates and their press.

In his election speech to the electors, Comrade Stalin used the following words to point out the tremendous difference between elections in the capitalist countries and elections in the Soviet Union:

"Universal elections proceed and take place in certain capitalist so-called democratic countries as well. But what are the conditions in which the elections proceed there? In conditions of class conflicts, in conditions of class enmity, in conditions of pressure on the electors from the part of capitalists, landlords, bankers and other sharks of capitalism. Such elections, even though they be universal, equal, secret and direct, cannot be called entirely free and entirely democratic elections. With us, in our country, on the contrary, elections proceed in entirely different conditions. We have no capitalists, no landlords, consequently there is no pressure by propertied on propertyless classes, either. With us, elections proceed in conditions of col-

laboration among the workers, peasants and intellectuals, in conditions of mutual trust, in conditions, I would say, of mutual friendship, because we have no capitalists, no landlords, no exploitation, and there is nobody, properly speaking, to exercise pressure on the people, with a view to distorting their will.

"That is why our elections are the only really free and really democratic ones in the world."

Never yet in history have there been such elections by the people of their supreme bodies. The Soviet elector went to vote for his candidates in a clean, free and healthy atmosphere, conscious only of his duty to elect the best people.

The Communist Party called upon all citizens to do their duty and take part in the voting.

The call issued by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in its election manifesto was, "All out for the elections!" The election campaign went on for two months. The policy of the Soviet government, the work of the Party, the tremendous road traversed under its guidance by the land of Soviets, a road which has led to the victory of socialism—all these things were explained to the widest masses of the population, as were the further tasks facing the country. All candidates proposed for the Supreme Soviet addressed their electors. The farthest corners of the boundless Soviet Union were covered by the election campaign. The Communist Party issued an appeal to the electors and, having once again explained the meaning and purpose of its activities in the struggle for socialism, for happy lives of labor for the masses of the people, it called upon them to vote for the candidates of the bloc of the Communist Party and non-Party people.

The election results were an enormous victory for the Party of Lenin-Stalin. They showed that a great people, one hundred and seventy million strong, were solid around the Bolshevik Party and Comrade Stalin, around the Soviet government. By their unanimous vote, by the participation of millions at the election meetings, the people fully approved the foreign and home policy of the Party and the government. On the basis of its foreign policy, the Soviet government has for sixteen years safeguarded the peaceful life and labor of the peoples of the Soviet Union. It has protected and still protects them from military attacks and fights for the maintenance of peace for the peoples of all countries. In voting for the policy of the Soviet government, 90,000,000 electors gave their mandate to the government to stand firm on guard over the frontiers of the Soviet Union, while unswervingly conducting a policy of peace, and steadfastly to strengthen the defense of the country. By their vote at the elections, 90,000,000 electors declared that they would stand together as one man in defense of their socialist fatherland, and, should the enemy dare to attack, would rout him on his own territory.

By their vote, the people approved the economic policy, the policy of industrialization and collectivization, on the basis of which the Party and the Soviet government have converted the country from a backward one of poverty and ignorance, from an uncultured country where the working people were oppressed and downtrodden, as was tsarist Russia, into a mighty, advanced socialist power.

By their vote, the people approved the irreconcilable struggle of the Party and the organs of the Soviet state against the enemies of the people, the crushing of the counter-revolutionary gangs of wreckers and spies, Trotsky-Bukharinite and other fascist agents. During the election days the Soviet people rose up ominous and relentless toward those who attempted to lay their hands on the socialist fatherland and betray it to enemies.

These days were a national holiday, days of triumph and of the display of the victories of socialist construction in all spheres of life. Electors and deputies, old workers, collective farmers and the Soviet youth spoke about what Soviet power had given them. In simple, profoundly moving words, they told of how

from simple workers and peasants they had become famous in the land of the Soviets—directors of factories, industrial plants, mines, managers of collective farms, important political workers. Old people recalled their hard lives in tsarist Russia and spoke of their happy lives in the land of the Soviets; they spoke of their children, to whom the Soviet government has given education and of whom it has made engineers, technicians, teachers, doctors, writers. Before the eyes of the Soviet people there passed thousands of living examples of the new man—the citizen of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Their own examples, their own lives served to show the great victorious road traversed by the Soviet land. During these days there passed before the country its historical past, when the working people were backward, poverty-stricken, exploited and suffered national oppression—and also its great socialist present.

In the course of the elections, the peoples of the U.S.S.R. throughout the whole of this huge country of many nationalities expressed their profound affection and loyalty for the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government.

Millions of people were filled with genuine popular feelings of love and gratitude to the Party of Lenin-Stalin, for their new, free and happy life. Working men and women, shock-brigaders and Stakhanov workers, rank-and-file collective farmers and managers of collective farms, engineers, doctors, teachers, writers and actors known the world over, world-famous scientists, explorers, airmen, professors and academicians, used profoundly moving words to express their love, gratitude and devotion to the Party of Lenin-Stalin. They spoke of the great joy it is to live in the Soviet country, of the boundless possibilities which the Soviet system affords for the progress of mankind and the development of the human personality.

During these days the new, powerful, growing bright world of socialism rose up in all its magnitude in contrast to the decaying and disintegrating world of capitalism, which lives in the midst of continual crises, poverty and hunger of the masses of the people, and is sinking ever lower and lower.

Millions of people declared to the whole world that the working masses have to thank the Bolshevik Party, the Party of Lenin-Stalin, for the historic victories won by socialism.

During the elections the activity of the masses rose to unprecedented heights. Of the 94,138,159 electors in the Soviet Union, 91,113,153, *i.e.*, 96.8 per cent, took part in the voting.

Never in any single capitalist country has the population displayed such activity, either during an election campaign or during the elections themselves. In a huge country, which includes the far-distant polar tundras, and the mountain regions of the Caucasus and Pamirs, the huge stretches of Siberia and the industrial regions of the center, in a country where side by side with huge industrial centers there are boundless steppes and deserts where the population still live a nomadic life, 96.8 per cent of the electors participated in the voting. Everywhere in the towns and polar regions, in the Kazakhstan steppes and Siberian taiga, in the Caucasian mountains and the Far-Eastern Coastal Region, 91,000,000 people went to the ballot box on December 12, 1937, to elect their deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Nothing of the kind has been seen in any other country. The figures for the last parliamentary elections in capitalist countries show that in England 71.9 per cent of the electors participated in the elections; in the U.S.A. (during 1936 presidential elections) 83.3 per cent; in France 83.9 per cent; in Germany, 80.6 per cent of the electors took part in the voting in the last elections, held in 1932, before the establishment of the fascist dictatorship; in Japan, at the 1937 elections, 69.9 per cent; and in Poland, at the elections to the Sejm in 1935, 46.6 per cent.

The elections to the Supreme Soviet brought complete victory to the Party of Lenin-Stalin, the victory of the elec-

tion bloc of the Communist Party and the non-Party people. Of all those who voted, 89,800,000, or 98.6 per cent, cast their votes for the candidates of the bloc for the Union Soviet; 89,000,000 people, or 97.8 per cent, for the candidates of the bloc for the Soviet of Nationalities.

There has never been, nor is there today, another party which has been given such exceptionally strong and unanimous popular approval of its activities, and popular support for its candidates.

In his election speech, Comrade Molotov said that the magnificent victories of socialism had made it possible for the Bolshevik Party to raise the question of a bloc between the Party and the whole of the people. Nothing of the kind has ever existed or can exist in any capitalist country, where such a bloc is beyond the dreams of the bourgeois parties.

"In the elections to the Supreme Soviet, a united people's front must come into being in our own Soviet way, a united people's front of unprecedented power and significance." (Molotov.)

This Soviet united people's front of the land of socialism displayed its mighty power on the day of the elections, thus demonstrating the historic, moral and political unity of the great Soviet people.

During the elections there was again tested the link between the Party and the masses of the people. And this test brought complete triumph to the Party, displayed the C.P.S.U. to the whole world as the vanguard of the working people, which has the self-sacrificing and unreserved support of the millions of the people of the Soviet Union. As they dropped their ballot papers into the ballot boxes, the electors voted not only for the candidates of their own districts, but for the Bolshevik Party, for its policy and historic activity which have ensured the victory of socialism. They voted for their own lives of happiness and liberty.

History has never known a stronger, more stable link between a political party and government on the one hand and the wide masses of the people on the other. There has never been, nor is there now, a government backed by such numbers of the population or that has received such a high percentage of the votes of the electors.

In the biggest countries of bourgeois democracy, not to mention the fascist countries where the people are prevented from showing in elections their attitude toward the government and the regime, the ruling parties and the governments put forward by them have obtained: in England, 53.6 per cent of the votes; in the U.S.A., 60.5 per cent.

The Soviet people elected their deputies to the Supreme Soviet from among the best people of the country. The first deputy on the list—the candidate of the whole people—for whom expressions of devotion and love poured in during the elections from all corners of the country, was Comrade Stalin. True pupils of Lenin and Stalin were elected, the foremost workers, Stakhanovites, and collective farmers, men of science and art, Red Army men and commanders, prominent Party and Soviet workers, splendid pilots and polar explorers, writers, engineers, teachers.

Not money and wealth, not the possession of factories and capital, not service to the interests of the ruling upper strata of exploiters, but personal worth, service to the socialist fatherland, service to its interests, determined the candidatures and election of deputies.

The elections to the Supreme Soviet revealed the solidarity of all the peoples of the boundless Soviet Union with its many nationalities toward the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government. The very composition of the supreme body of the land of Soviets is a brilliant demonstration of the friendship of the peoples and of the equality existing between the nationalities. Side by side with the deputies to the Union Soviet, the peoples of the U.S.S.R. send their deputies to the Soviet of Nationalities. Every union republic, autonomous republic, every national-autonomous region and district elects its own representatives.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government are specially concerned to

ensure that each nationality receives the opportunity of seeing to its own socialist development and defending its own interests in the supreme organs of the Soviet land.

Besides its deputies to the Union Soviet each union republic sends twenty-five deputies to the Soviet of Nationalities. Therefore, the Turkomen and Armenian republics, with their 600,000 electors, have twenty-five deputies each in the Soviet of Nationalities, just as the R.S.F.S.R. has with its 60,000,000, and the Ukrainian republic with its 17,000,000 electors. Each autonomous republic has eleven seats, each autonomous region five seats, and each national district one seat in the Soviet of Nationalities. Dozens of nationalities send their representatives to the Supreme Soviet. Russians and Ukrainians, Kazakhs and Georgians, Tajiks and White Russians, Tatars and Germans from the German Volga Republic, Yakuts and Chuvashes, Cherkesses and Osetians and many representatives of other nationalities are in the leading body of the Soviet Union.

The Bolshevik Party called upon all its members and non-Party people to vote for the candidates of the bloc. And the non-Party people voted for the Communists; millions of Communists and Young Communists voted for non-Party candidates. In the Lenin Constituency, Moscow, members of the C.C. of the C.S.P.U. headed by Comrade Stalin, voted for the non-Party Stakhanov worker, Gudov.

The 170,000,000 of the great Soviet people demonstrated their moral and political unity, their boundless devotion and solidarity toward the Party of Lenin-Stalin.

The roots of this tremendous success of the Communist Party at the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. are to be found in the whole history of the work of the Bolsheviks. From the day it first came into being, the Party of Lenin-Stalin has fought for socialism, has fought to rid the people of oppression and exploitation, to give them a free, happy and joyful life. The whole of this struggle has taken place before the eyes of the millions of working people of the U.S.S.R. They saw the Party when it established the first organizations of the working class in old Russia at the beginning of the twentieth century; they saw it on the barricades in the struggles against tsarism in the 1905 revolution; in the very difficult years of reaction and imperialist war, it carried on the revolutionary struggle in the front ranks of the proletariat, defending their everyday interests, defending the workers' rights, explaining the predatory character of the war and mobilizing the masses for the struggle to overthrow tsarism.

The Bolshevik Party was in the front ranks of the people when they rose up in revolt in the days of the bourgeois-democratic revolution of February, 1917, which overthrew tsarism. It launched the heroic struggle for the transfer of power from the bourgeois Provisional Government into the hands of the Soviets. It was tireless in rallying the masses during these months of 1917 to the struggle for peace, bread and liberty, for the winning of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was at the head of the workers and poorest peasantry that the Bolsheviks advanced to the armed uprising of October, 1917, and ensured the victory of the great October Socialist Revolution.

From that day the working people of the Soviet Union have seen the Party of Lenin-Stalin at the head of a huge proletarian state. It guided the establishment of the first socialist society in the history of mankind. The Bolsheviks defended the Soviet land from the encroachments of international capitalism and the White Guards inside the country. For three years the working people headed by the Communists fought on the numerous fronts of the civil war.

The Communists were in the foremost positions, fought in the fiercest battles against the troops of the counter-revolution; the Party sent over half of its membership to the front.

Millions of people saw how with self-

sacrifice and heroism, and without sparing their lives, the Bolsheviks fought for socialism, for the happiness of the working people.

The Bolshevik Party fought just as steadfastly and heroically on the economic front. The Party received from the bourgeois government a country that was poor and backward, half-devastated and exhausted by many years of war. It succeeded in transforming it into a powerful and advanced socialist power.

Facing the people when they voted for the candidates of the bloc between the Communist Party and the non-Party people, was the whole of this glorious path traversed by Bolshevism, the path of its struggle in the interests and happiness of the working people.

The peoples of the Soviet Union have known many political parties, of which in the history of old Russia there were no fewer than in any other country. The Monarchist Party ("League of the Russian People"), the "League of the Archangel Michael," the so-called Constitutional-Democratic Party (Cadets), the Social-Democratic Party (Mensheviks), the Party of Social-Revolutionaries (S.R.'s), the Anarchist Party; there was the "Octobrist" Party, the "Trudovik" (Toilers') Party, the "Popular Socialists"; there were many bourgeois-nationalist parties (Zionist, Dashnaks, Mussawatists), and a whole number of others. They all sought to get their programs carried out in practice.

For decades the Bolshevik Party waged a struggle against all these bourgeois-landlord parties and the petty-bourgeois parties connected with them.

The Bolsheviks conducted a tremendous struggle lasting many years against the Mensheviks and S.R.'s for influence over the working class and peasantry, and set an example of Leninist irreconcilability and capacity to be ever close to the proletarian masses, and to lead them forward to the victory of socialism.

The proletariat and the working masses of the Soviet Union saw in actual practice, tested on the basis of the experience of their own lives, what it was that the political parties were fighting for.

All the parties, except the Party of Lenin-Stalin, stood for the bourgeois system and exerted every effort in defense of the system wherein the working masses were exploited and oppressed by a handful of exploiters. The Bolsheviks alone, with iron persistence and heroism, conducted the struggle for the victory of socialism, for the liberation of the working people from the yoke of exploitation and enslavement and to secure them free and happy lives.

The peoples of the Soviet Union tested the political parties not only by the promises in their program and electoral declarations, but by their deeds. Almost all the bourgeois-landlord and petty-bourgeois parties which have figured in the history of the country and have carried out the policy of the former have at some period or another been in power. They are known to the people of the U.S.S.R. not only as opposition parties, but as ruling parties. And all of these parties have revealed themselves to be enemies of the working class, of the working people generally, and defenders of the exploiters and oppressors of the people. When in power, hese parties confirmed the estimate of them given by the Bolsheviks, and thereby testified before millions of people to the truthful character of the Bolshevik Party.

Every day spent in power by the Mensheviks and S.R.'s revealed their bourgeois nature and the fact that they served the interests of capitalism. The Bolsheviks conducted a tireless struggle against these accomplices and agents of the bourgeoisie. It was a particularly important problem to unmask the Mensheviks and S.R.'s, since they concealed their service to the bourgeoisie behind socialist phrases, behind declarations about defending the interests of the working people. They concealed their bourgeois nature behind their very name — the "Social-Democratic Labor Party" (Mensheviks), and the Party of "Socialist-Revolutionaries." An irreconcilable and relentless struggle had to

be waged against these agents of the bourgeoisie, in order to display them in their true colors, to show that they had absolutely nothing socialist in their make-up, and that they were acting against the interests of the working class and working people generally on behalf of the interests of the exploiters.

This historic struggle of the Bolsheviks against the conciliators was a struggle to destroy capitalist exploitation and oppression, for the building of socialism, and for happy and joyful lives to be enjoyed by the working people of the Soviet Union.

The Bolshevik Party devoted the whole of its life to the struggle for the liberation and happiness of the people. And the people reward it with their supreme devotion, gratitude and love.

In the election campaign, the Party of Lenin-Stalin summed up the results of its historic activities, came forward with the victory of socialism already gained, and with a program for its consolidation and for further victories. The facts of the deeds of the Bolshevik Party were the most brilliant agitators for its successes in the elections.

"The Bolshevik Party comes before the electors with the most powerful weapon—*the truth*. It comes before the electors with the splendid results of twenty years of Soviet power. This is the most powerful argument in favor of the election program of the Party, in favor of the candidates of the Soviet people." (Dimitroff.)

The Bolshevik Party has one aim, one care before it—care for the happiness and prosperity of the masses of the people, for the victory of communism. In his speech before the electors Comrade Stalin called upon the people to elect such deputies as would follow the example of great Lenin, who devoted the whole of his life to the struggle for the interests of the working people and the victory of communism.

"The electors, the people, must demand of their deputies that they remain equal to their tasks, that in their work they do not descend to the level of political Philistines, that they remain at their posts as public men of the type of Lenin, that they be clear and clear-cut public men as Lenin, that they be just as fearless in battle and merciless toward the enemies of the people as was Lenin, that they be free of all panic, of all semblance of panic when things begin to get complicated and when some danger appears on the horizon, that they be just as free of any semblance of panic as Lenin was free, that they be just as wise and deliberate in deciding complicated questions, which require an all-round orientation and all-round consideration of all the pros and cons, as was Lenin, that they be just as truthful and honest as was Lenin, that they love their people as Lenin loved them."

Comrade Stalin called upon the electors to keep a sharp watch over their deputies, to ensure that they truly serve the interests of the people and carry out their instructions. The Soviet Constitution gives the electors a powerful weapon for the fulfilment of their sovereign will. Electors can recall their deputy and replace him, if he swerves from the right road, if he goes back on the instructions given him by the people who elected him and turns out to be unworthy of the name of deputy. The great power of socialist democratism gives the Soviet people every opportunity of testing those whom they elect and of having in the supreme bodies of the country people enjoying their full confidence and devoting their strength to the consolidation and prosperity of the socialist fatherland.

Comrade Stalin's election speech was permeated with the supreme untiring care of the Bolshevik Party for the interests of the people and the consolidation of the land of socialism—the fatherland of the international proletariat.

The Communist Parties in the capitalist countries are fighting under the banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin for the liberation and happiness of the working class and working people generally of their respective countries and of proletarians and oppressed people

throughout the world. They are conducting an untiring and firm struggle against fascism and the capitalist system, and are striving to heal the split in the working class movement, to set up and consolidate the People's Front.

It is with tremendous enthusiasm that the working people of all countries have greeted the results of the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. At the time when the fascist obscurantists in a number of countries have destroyed the remains of bourgeois democracy, when fascism is attempting to attack the working masses in the big bourgeois states—the elections in the Soviet Union display the blossoming of true socialist democracy, the triumph and all-conquering power of socialism, and the tremendous might of the great land of Soviets.

The Stalin Constitution is an indictment against fascism. Testifying to the fact that socialism and democracy are invincible, it is of tremendous help to those who are waging a struggle against fascist obscurantism and barbarism.

The elections to the Supreme Soviet carried through on the basis of the Stalin Constitution show to the people of the whole world the development of socialist democratism, the free expression of the will of the people and the way the organs of supreme power are established in a real democratic way. These elections shed still brighter rays of light on the gloomy picture of fascist domination based on the destruction of democratic rights and liberties, on the ruthless exploitation of the working people and the usurpation of the rights of the people by a handful of the most reactionary and chauvinistic elements of finance capital. The elections to the Supreme Soviet are a great mobilizing force for the struggle of the masses of the working people against fascism in all capitalist countries.

The huge victory of the Bolshevik Party provides the Communist Parties of all countries with a mighty weapon in their struggle against fascism and capitalism, in their struggle on behalf of the interests of the proletariat and the masses of working people, in the historic battle of communism against capitalism.

The New World Economic Crisis

BY EUGENE VARGA

THE working class of the capitalist countries is on the threshold of new severe trials—a new world economic crisis is approaching. The crisis in the sphere of circulation which has made itself felt since the spring of 1937 in the shape of outbursts of severe panic on the Exchange* and of a rapid fall in the prices** of the most important kinds of raw material spread in the autumn to the sphere of production.

Since we are only interested in the *movement* of prices, we give the prices for a definite quantity of a given quality, without indicating the precise quantity and quality.

In the most important country of the capitalist world—the U.S.A.—industrial production has rapidly declined.*

In some European countries also—Italy, Great Britain, Holland, Belgium, Sweden—industrial output has begun to decline. There can hardly be any doubt that this means the beginning of a new world economic crisis.

"Experts" and statesmen in the capitalist world such as Morganthau and Roosevelt, Chamberlain and Wageman, etc., are, it is true, asserting that all that is happening is a "halt" like those that took place in 1924 and 1927 in the U.S.A., but that there can be no question of the outbreak of a really "big" crisis. But their conclusions are erroneous, since they make their starting point the rising curve of capitalist develop-

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* Industrial share quotations (1929 equals 100).

	Maximum average monthly figure, in 1937		October, 1937
U.S.A.	(March)	80.3	55.4
Great Britain.	(January)	121.6	100.
France	(January)	52.	41.2
Sweden	(March)	84.8	73.2
Holland	(August)	73.2	63.4

(Data taken from the *Monthly Statistical Bulletin of the League of Nations* for November, 1937.)

** Prices of the most important commodities on the Exchanges in U.S.A. and London.

	Maximum price in 1937	Price at beginning of Dec. 1937
Wheat (Chicago)	144.	94.
Maize (Chicago)	136.	53.
Cotton (L'pool)	8.19	4.62
Wool (London)	40.	—
Copper (London)	77.	39.
Tin (London)	306.	191.
Rubber (London)	18.5	7.8
Cocoa (London)	53.	26.5

* We quote the following characteristic figures:

Weekly indices. (September-November)

1937	Index of business activity according to New York Times	Utilization of productive power in steel industry (in percentages)	Number of cars loaded (in 1000's)
Sept. 4..	109.3	71.6	805.
Sept. 11..	106.6	80.4	711.
Oct. 16..	100.2	55.8	810.
Nov. 6..	94.0	41.0	732.
Nov. 13..	90.5	36.4	690.
Nov. 20..	89.5	31.0	647.

ment, and absolutely leave out of account the deforming effect of the general crisis of capitalism. We still remember the way the bourgeois "experts" argued in 1929 when also they stubbornly denied the possibility of a crisis.

According to the theory of Marxism, the development of a new world economic crisis arises out of the internal laws of motion of capitalist economy. In conditions of capitalism periodic crises are inevitable. The contradictions between the striving of capital to achieve a limitless expansion of production, so as to receive as big profits as possible, and the narrow bounds of the consuming power of capitalist society which are conditioned primarily by the low material standards of the masses of the working people, lead inevitably to crises of overproduction which are repeated periodically.*

With the transition to monopoly capitalism, a tendency is to be observed of the reduction in the length of the cycles. Monopolist organizations artificially maintain prices at a high level, cut down the share of the masses of the people in the total product, or, as it is called in bourgeois literature, in the national income, thus leading to a further relative decline in the consuming capacity of society; hence overproduction and the crisis develop at a more rapid rate. During the period of the general crisis, such important factors as chronic mass unemployment, the mass impoverishment of the peasantry, due to the agrarian crisis, high taxes on articles of consumption which make still sharper inroads into the income of the working people and the consuming power of the masses, sharpen the contradictions between the striving of capital to extend production and, as Lenin said, the limited consuming power of society—limited because of the proletarian condition of the masses of the people, and thereby still further hasten on the development of crises of overproduction. Therefore the outbreak of a new crisis eight years after the previous one which began in 1929 is a phenomonon to be expected.

But in one respect the outbreak of the crisis has taken place "prematurely." As Comrade Stalin prophesied at the beginning of 1934, in his report at the 17th Party Congress—it has taken place—without touching the phase of the general boom of capitalism. Herein there are particularly clearly manifested the depths of the general crisis of capitalism. The cycle which began in the autumn of 1929 and ended in the autumn of 1937 was an incomplete and distorted one. *It had no culminating point, and there was no phase of prosperity in it.* The eight years of the last crisis were divided up in the following way:

Four years of crisis: from the autumn of 1929 to the middle of 1933.

Two years of depression: from the middle of 1933 to the middle of 1935.

Two years of revival (and in some countries, of boom): from the middle of 1935 to autumn, 1937.

The difference between this cycle and those of the epoch that preceded the general crisis of capitalism is clear for all to see. During last century the crisis as a rule reached the lowest point a few months after it began; the crisis and the depression covered only a small part of the cycle; while the phases of rising development, namely, revival, boom and prosperity, occupied a considerably greater part. It was in the phase of revival already that industrial output would pass the highest point of the preceding cycle, and would leave it far behind in the phase of prosperity. In the last cycle we see, on the contrary, that a new crisis has come on before the peak of the preceding cycle has been reached.

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* During the last century economic crisis have followed one after the other in the following years: 1825, 1836, 1847, 1857, 1866, 1873, 1882, 1900, 1907, 1914 (did not develop as a result of the world war), 1920, 1929.

In view of the unequal development of capitalism, the crisis in certain countries develops sooner than ordinarily, or after considerable delay, as, for instance, in France in the last cycle.

INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT (1929 EQUALS 100)

	In capitalist Europe	In the U.S.A.	In the U.S.S.R.
1929.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
1930.....	85.8	80.7	130.9
1931.....	74.3	68.1	161.3
1932.....	62.6	53.8	183.4
1933.....	71.1	63.9	198.4
1934.....	77.0	66.4	238.3
1935.....	85.9	75.6	293.4
1936.....	96.2	88.1	382.3
Average figure for 9 months, 1937..			97.0

Thus we see that the industrial output of the capitalist world is behind the highest point reached in 1929, though in some capitalist countries it is higher than the 1929 level. If we take into account that there has been a quite considerable increase in the population of the capitalist world during the last eight years, that of the total industrial output in 1937 a far greater part has gone for armament purposes than in 1929, then it becomes obvious that a far smaller quantity of industrial goods was produced per head of the population of the capitalist world in 1937 than in 1929. This means that the tremendous technical progress of the last eight years, the development of the productive forces and of the productivity of labor, and also the increased intensity of labor (which has taken place by increasing the exploitation of the workers)—all this has not gone to improve the well-being of the working people of the capitalist world; on the contrary, the consumption of the wide masses of the people is at a lower level than that of 1929.

This is a most important lesson for the international proletariat, for all working people! Instead of the boom promised by the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy, instead of the "better life" within the bounds of the capitalist system, promises with the aid of which the reformists always endeavored to divert the proletariat from the revolutionary path, there has taken place the relative and absolute impoverishment of the proletariat.

An absolutely different picture is painted by the data of the League of Nations regarding the development of industrial production in the U.S.S.R. The industrial output of the U.S.S.R. has remained untouched by the crisis which has raged in the capitalist world, and has increased at a rapid rate from year to year. While the capitalist world has, during the last eight years, only succeeded in making up the losses incurred by the crisis, the industrial output of the U.S.S.R. has multiplied manyfold. Clearer proof of the superiority of socialism over capitalism cannot be adduced.

If we compare the crisis now beginning with the crisis of 1929 we must note first and foremost that the former crisis took place in a period of relative, although already severely shaken, stabilization of capitalism. The crisis of 1929 ended the process of the liquidation of temporary stabilization. The new crisis has come on at a moment when not a trace remains of the stabilization of capitalism, when a quarter of mankind is in a state of war, when the fascist aggressors are increasingly driving at the democratic countries and when a world war may break out any day, when the class war in some countries is developing into civil war, and when the superiority of socialism over capitalism has been proven in practice once and for all.

It is clear that the social and political consequences of the new crisis will exert a still more profound influence on the situation throughout the world than did the consequences of the 1929 crisis.

The new economic crisis will rapidly intensify the impoverishment of the proletariat, primarily in the shape of a rapid rise of mass unemployment. As distinct from the crisis of 1929, *the new crisis has begun with a tremendous number of unemployed already in existence.* This changed situation as compared with 1929 is shown most clearly in the U.S.A.

The unemployed in the U.S.A., according to the figures of the American Federation of Labor, numbered 614,000 in September, 1929, and 8,552,000 in August, 1937.

Thus we see that in 1929 the number of workers drawn into industry reached in the U.S.A. the level that is at all possible in capitalist conditions; the industrial reserve army always exists in capitalist conditions, even when the factory owners complain of a shortage of workers. In 1937, however, although the industrial output of the U.S.A. almost reached the 1929 level, many millions of workers were unemployed.

We see a similar picture, although less sharply expressed, in other capitalist countries. In a number of countries where industrial output even exceeded the 1929 level large-scale unemployment remained. Here are a few examples (see *Monthly Bulletin* of the League of Nations, November 1937):

Country	Index of industrial production (1929 equals 100)	Unemployed in thousands (1936)
Japan	151.1	338
Denmark	130.	93
Sweden	129.	72
Great Britain.	116.2	1,498
Norway	115.2	33
Germany	106.3	1,598

In some countries, primarily Germany, the unemployed figures quoted are far from complete. But even these reduced figures show that in spite of the fact that industrial output exceeds the 1929 level, there are great number of unemployed in Germany now. With the outbreak of the crisis it will rapidly increase.

Mass dismissals of workers have already begun in the U.S.A. A number of textile factories close down for a fortnight, while others are working short time. The Chrysler Automobile Company dismissed 10,000 workers on November 24, 1937, out of a total number of 55,000, and cut down the hours worked per week to 32. In the steel industry the number of hours worked per week has been cut down to between 20 and 25, and the wages of 600,000 workers have been correspondingly reduced. According to the figures of the trade unions in the steel industry, 200,000 metal workers have already been dismissed (see *The Times*, November 26, 1937). A similar picture is to be observed in other branches of industry. In England, unemployment began to increase in October, although for the time being not considerably. In other European countries it will not have to be long awaited. The unemployed figures will in a short period reach and exceed the 1932 level.

The conditions of the colossal army of unemployed will be the worse in that unemployment benefits were, in many countries, sharply reduced during the period of the last crisis. The tremendous expenditures on armaments, and the big budget deficits in the majority of countries, will increase the resistance of the ruling classes to attempts at extending aid for the unemployed. The unemployed will receive benefits still less adequate, if they receive any at all, than during the period of the previous crisis.

The bourgeoisie will utilize the opportunity to undertake a new drive against the working class. They will attempt once again to deprive the working class of certain bourgeois democratic countries of the gains achieved in 1936 and 1937. This will particularly be the case in the U.S.A. and France. It is clear that *the working class will succeed in beating off the new attacks threatening them from the side of capital if they strengthen and consolidate the trade union organizations, if they organize resistance to the exploiting classes on the basis of the united front.*

The bourgeoisie will attempt to throw the burden of the crisis not only on the workers, but also on the working peasants and on the urban petty bourgeoisie. This process has already begun. The prices of the products of peasant farms have already fallen sharply, whereas the industrial monopolies continue to keep their prices at a high level. The "scissors" are again opening up to the disadvantage of the peasants. The chronic agrarian crisis which eased during the last two years as a result of an

increase in the consumption by industry of agricultural raw materials, as a result of the limitation of output, of the degradation of agriculture, of the repeated droughts, is again assuming a very sharp form.* The process of the expropriation of the land of the peasants, of the transformation of the peasants into tenants or landless agricultural laborers will go on at a more rapid rate.

The urban petty bourgeoisie—handicraft workers, small tradesmen, small employers—will suffer more severely than previously from the pressure of finance capital. The process of the centralization of capital, of the destruction of the urban petty independent "owners," will also be speeded up. The contradictions between the urban and village bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the big bourgeoisie on the other, will become intensified. The petty bourgeoisie will attempt to resist the policy of the big bourgeoisie, of placing the burden of the crisis on the masses of the working people. But successful resistance will only be possible if it is undertaken in alliance with the proletariat within the bounds of the People's Front; it is not at all possible if the petty bourgeoisie attempt to enter the struggle against the big bourgeoisie single handed, isolated from the proletariat.

The crisis will strengthen the fascist tendencies within the big bourgeoisie of the democratic countries. The People's Front, however, will be a bulwark against the encroachments of capital on both the material interests and the political liberty of the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie in town and country.

The big bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries will attempt to place the burden of the crisis on the colonies. And this process has already begun. The prices of colonial products are falling with unparalleled rapidity; the prices for the products of monopoly enterprises are invariably high. The robbery of the colonies by the unequal exchange of their products on the world market has considerably increased. The conditions of the working people in the colonies is worsening due to this, and the contradictions between the colonies and the imperialist powers are sharpening. Hence, the revolutionary movement in the colonies will receive a new impetus.

The crisis will deal heavy blows at the bourgeoisie as well, blows which will be the heavier the more the proletariat and the urban and village petty bourgeoisie join forces to resist the attempt to place the burdens of the crisis on their shoulders.

The big bourgeoisie, primarily in the fascist countries, will, therefore, be more anxious than hitherto to seek a way out of the internal difficulties by unleashing a world war, in a new redivision of the globe. *The advance of the new economic crisis means the increase of the war danger.*

The sharpening of all the contradictions of capitalism as a result of the crisis strengthens the war danger for the Soviet Union, all the more so since the contradictions between the capitalist world and the U.S.S.R. are sharper now than ever before. In 1930 already, after the beginning of the crisis, Comrade Stalin declared that this contradiction undermined and shook the very foundations of capitalism:

"Still more, it lays bare to the very roots all the contradictions of capitalism and gathers them up into one knot, making of them a question of life and death for the capitalist system itself. Therefore, every time that capitalist contradictions begin to grow acute, the bourgeoisie turns its gaze toward the U.S.S.R. as if to say: 'Cannot we settle this or that contradiction of capitalism or all the

* The income of farmers and peasants throughout the whole of the cycle remained considerably lower than in 1929 and during the previous cycle. The income of American farmers was 10.5 billion dollars in 1929 and 7.9 billion dollars in 1936. Although the index of the goods purchased by farmers fell from 153 to 124, the real income of the farmers during the whole of the cycle was each year between 1 and 2 billion dollars less than in 1929.

contradictions taken together, at the expense of the U.S.S.R., the land of the Soviets, the citadel of the revolution, which by its very existence is revolutionizing the working class and the colonies, preventing us from arranging a new war, preventing us dividing the world anew, preventing us being masters of its extensive internal market, so necessary for capitalists, particularly today owing to the economic crisis.'" (Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. II, pp. 260-61.)

Now, when socialism has achieved final and irrevocable victory in the U.S.S.R., when life itself has proved the superiority of socialism over capitalism, the striving of the reactionary bourgeoisie, primarily the fascist aggressors, to seek a way out in counter-revolutionary war, in place of the "peaceful" struggle between the two systems, in which they have clearly suffered defeat —this striving is stronger than ever before. With the further extension of the crisis, the danger of counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. will still further increase.

The outbreak of the new economic crisis means the sharpening of all the basic contradictions of the capitalist world, and demands of the Communist Parties, of all anti-fascists and friends of peace, a still more resolute struggle for the united front and for People's Fronts in all countries.

Social-Democratism and Working Class Unity

BY ERNST FISCHER

THE Catalan Socialists and Communists are linked up in a single Party. The Spanish Socialists and Communists are, in the fire of war, preparing to merge their forces. The delegates of the International Federation of Trade Unions together with the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions have laid the basis in Moscow for international trade union unity. And it is at this time that the leadership of the French Socialist Party has broken off negotiations with the Communist Party of France regarding an organizational merger of the two parties.

On the one hand, the growing urge of the masses for unity, the progressive consolidation of the ranks of the working class; on the other hand, the increased resistance of the Social-Democratic leaders who are enemies of unity, and whose actions, consciously or unconsciously, reflect the terror of the bourgeoisie at the unification of the ranks of the proletariat. The stronger the urge for unity, the more zealously do these reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy advance all sorts of pretexts for the sabotage in which they engage.

The most up-to-date pretext behind which they are hiding is the article published by Comrade Dimitroff on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the great socialist October Revolution. In this article Comrade Dimitroff drew three lessons from the victories and defeats of the last decades.

The first lesson is: The victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. has proved that the working class is capable of assuming the historical responsibility of guiding the fate of its people and of organizing the national economy. Only "hopeless cretins, who not infrequently call themselves Socialists, and political charlatans, who distort Marxism" will dare to deny this.

The second lesson: Social-Democratism, reformism, prevented the victory of the working class in other countries and thereby paved the way for the victory of fascism. Comrade Stalin's words that "it is impossible to put an end to capitalism without having put an end to Social-Democratism in the labor movement," have preserved all their significance.

The third lesson: "It can be said with assurance that on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the great socialist October Revolution, the working class of the capitalist countries is closely approaching the liquidation of the split in the world labor movement called into being by Social-Democratism." In this process of unification, "the keystone for checking the honesty and sincerity of every person active in the labor movement, of every workers' party and organization of the working people, of every democrat in the capitalist countries, is their attitude to the great land of socialism."

We believe that these conclusions are close to the hearts of all thinking Socialists who are devoted to the movement. These words sum up in concise and convincing form the point that is being made by tens of thousands of Socialists in the course of lively discussion; in these words a concise formulation is given of the po-

litical lessons that have been learned by the proletariat in severe battles and at the cost of bitter suffering.

The reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy, however, are furiously protesting against these lessons, and do not wish to understand that their policy has inflicted and is now inflicting incalculable misfortune on the working class. Under the impression of the serious defeats of 1933 and 1934, the revolutionary Socialists of Germany and Austria found ardent words with which to accuse reformism, and even the leaders of German and Austrian Social-Democracy subjected their own errors to criticism, albeit insufficiently and with qualms. But now apparently they consider that because it is a thing of long ago, their past is not to be subject to criticism; now they are demanding that the working class give up the valuable lessons learned from bloody experience.

They raise a hullabaloo because Comrade Dimitroff stated in his article that had it not been for the Social-Democratism of Turratti and D'Aragona, the victory of Italian fascism would not have been possible, had it not been for the Social-Democratism of Ebert and Noske, the victory of German fascism would not have been possible, and had it not been for the Social-Democratism of Renner and Bauer, the victory of Austrian fascism would not have been possible. They are in a hurry and stubborn in their efforts to persuade the workers that by using these words Dimitroff is slandering the whole of Social-Democracy. The leadership of the French Socialists line up with the former leaders of the German and Austrian Social-Democracy, whose policy served as a warning for them. All the enemies of unity distort Dimitroff's words which branded neither the Social-Democratic Parties as a whole, nor honest Socialists, but Social-Democratsm.

We Communists are striving in all countries to bring about a united front with Social-Democracy. What is more, we desire to merge the Social-Democratic and Communist Parties into single parties of the proletariat. We are fighting with all our strength to achieve this consolidation of forces, and it is precisely for this reason that we are fighting with all our strength against Social-Democratism. Is it an insult if a member of a working class family insists on another member of the family curing his sickness and thereby guaranteeing the health and strength of the entire family? Social-Democratism is a disease. The Social-Democratic masses are gradually overcoming it. Nobody will dare or desire to drag the poison of disease into the proletarian united party. By fighting against Social-Democratism, we are fighting for the common interests of Communists and Socialists, of the entire working class.

Unlike the Communist Parties, the Social-Democratic Parties are not possessed of internal unity. The reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy have, in discussion with us, frequently referred to the fact that there are many tendencies, many groupings, and many contradictions within Social-Democracy. We do not deny this fact, but as distinct from the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy, we consider this to be not an advantage, but a weakness that can lead to paralysis.

In any case it must be borne in mind that counter-revolutionary elements, such as Spaak or Bevin, belong to Social-Democracy along with revolutionary-minded workers; wavering petty bourgeois along with class-conscious proletarians; ideologists alien to the masses, and active workers linked up with the masses; enemies and friends of the united front and the Soviet Union; furious opponents of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and supporters of it. Anybody who condemns the policy of leading Communists therey condemns the Communist International, but anybody who condemns the policy of leading Social-Democrats, by no means thereby condemns Social-Democracy, for within Social-Democracy the policy of each leading Social-Democrat comes up against the resistance and opposition of other Social-Democratic officials and entire groupings.

Let us but call to mind the position in Austrian Social-Democracy on the eve of the February battles. Austrian Social-Democracy, was, so to speak, the model party of the Second International, but what confusion reigned in this model party at the very moment when it had to enter on decisive battles! The Schutzbundlers, the revolutionary-minded workers, wanted to resort to arms, whereas the party leaders wanted to avoid a struggle; some armed themselves so as to deal a decisive blow, while others engaged in negotiations with the class state.

The supporters of Renner placed the responsibility for the catastrophe on the "Jews" in the party leadership; the circle grouped around Bauer threw the blame on the Right and Left oppositions in turn, blaming now the Central Committee and then the masses. Social-Democracy collapsed into component parts diametrically opposed to one another. The decisive role, however, was played by the circumstance that the party was directed not by the will of the revolutionary-minded workers, but by the will of the petty-bourgeois intellectual leadership; it was not the proletariat that led the wavering intellectuals, but the wavering intellectuals who led the proletariat. During the February battles the proletariat profoundly experienced and felt this.

Is it an insult to Austrian Social-Democracy if we brand the Social-Democratism of these leading petty bourgeois? The Schutzbund was also a link of Social-Democracy, and not the worst one; the masses who in 1918 swept the Hapsburgs away, and who, in July, 1927, and February, 1934, took to the streets, were also Social-Democrats; Weissel and Munreiter were Social-Democrats.

Who will dare to assert that we are "insulting" them by noting the responsibility of Renner and Bauer before history? The pretensions of these people at identifying themselves with Social-Democracy are absolutely without basis. It was the misfortune of the working class that these people were responsible Social-Democrats, but they were not Social-Democracy at all. Today, as well, the leadership of Social-Democracy consists to a great part of petty-bourgeois intellectuals who are connected with the big bourgeoisie; the masses are learning from experience, are moving Leftwards and coming close to their class brothers, the Communists, and are being followed by many officials and even leaders of Social-Democracy. The move to the Left is general in character. The determination to fight against fascism and bring about working class unity is ever growing.

Social-Democracy of today is not what it was in 1918. At that time the leaders, who were bound up with the bourgeoisie, succeeded in confusing the masses with the statement that the path of the Bolsheviks led to ruin, while the path of Turratti, Ebert, Renner and Bauer led to the victory of Social-Democracy and to the peaceful construction of socialism. Now the masses see the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., and the horrible defeat of the working class in those countries where Social-Democratism stifled the proletarian revolution.

At that time the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy succeeded in convincing the masses that the enemy was on the Left, that it was necessary to form a coalition with the bourgeoisie to avoid civil war. Now the masses see the results of this policy. At that time the reactionary leaders succeeded in persuading the masses that the ballot box was the most effective weapon against counter-revolution. Now the masses see that the ballot box alone was unable to ward off the mortal blow dealt at democracy by fascism. This experience of the masses has made a profound change in Social-Democracy, and there will be still further changes in it in the future, in spite of those leaders who have remained "as they were," and who see in each historical lesson an "insult" to Social-Democracy.

We Communists have the will and the desire to unite with Social-Democracy, the internal, profound change in which is absolutely obvious, but there can be no

unification with Social-Democratism. Fire and water cannot unite; only smoke and dust come from such "unity." We must not play with the idea of unity, we must not light-heartedly brush aside the necessary bases of unity. It is only on the basis of agreement in principle and not on all sorts of "ifs and buts," that united proletarian parties can and must be established.

We are on the road to an agreement in principle between Communist and Social-Democratic class fighters. Our Social-Democratic class comrades have in their majority understood that Marxism-Leninism is the guarantee of our victory; that only unity of word and deed, of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice, provides us with the strength for victory; that it is only in alliance with the working people in the town and country, and only through the dictatorship of the proletariat that the working class can guarantee victory and build up socialism; that only a firm, united party, bound together by iron discipline, is in a position to crush the furious resistance of the class enemy and resolutely to put an end to capitalism.

The understanding of this truth, which twenty years ago was the property of only a very insignificant minority of the working class, is today the property not only of the Communist workers, but also of the Social-Democratic workers. A small clique of leaders, however, who still sing the glories of Social-Democratism, wish to prevent this development, and to raise new barriers between the Communists and Socialists on the basis of old errors, prejudices and illusions.

What is the essence of this Social-Democratism?

In 1914, when almost all the Social-Democratic deputies in almost all the countries voted for the war, it threw off its mask. A few weeks, a few days, before the declaration of war, they were speaking of peace and vowing their loyalty to proletarian internationalism, but in this fateful hour they betrayed the interests of their class to the imperialist bourgeoisie. And now there are still certain Social-Democrats, like the German Social-Democrat Zollman, for instance, who extol this treachery as the "flourishing of the nation," but the majority of the then leaders of Social-Democracy are not particularly anxious to speak about it and justify themselves with talk about "the state of mind of the masses of the people." The very same people later succeeded magnificently in fighting against the sentiments of the masses, when the masses demanded not the support of, but the overthrow of, the bourgeoisie. These leaders exerted all their efforts to avert the "catastrophe of civil war," but they took no step against the catastrophe of the imperialist war.

What does this mean? It means that the bourgeoisie succeeded in penetrating the ranks of the labor movement, in linking up with the reformist leaders of Social-Democracy, and in driving out the spirit of irreconcilable class struggle, replacing it by the spirit of coalition.

The year 1918, the year of proletarian revolution in Central Europe, came. The reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy, on guard over Social-Democratism, on more than one occasion later boasted that they had saved the bourgeoisie from Bolshevism, and on more than one occasion upbraided the bourgeoisie saved by them for this "ingratitude." And in actual fact all these Turrattis and D'Aragonas, Eberts and Noskes, Renners and Bauers have been quite justified in asserting that they barred the way to Bolshevism, deprived the proletarian revolution of its life's blood and defended the bourgeois order. And if Bauer later made the witty statement that he had transformed the "Soviet dictatorship into a wordy dictatorship," there is a pitiful truth regarding Social-Democratism in this pitiful witticism.

But the matter was not limited to a "wordy dictatorship," to an attempt to drown the revolution in words. It was drowned in blood as well. Ebert who, on his own admission, mortally hated the revolution, entrusted the job to Noske, the man who cynically cried: "But surely somebody has got, in the long run, to

be a bulldog!" Fear of the revolution and aversion for it are what guided these people, with whom, strange though it may seem, the leadership of the French Socialist Party is now lining up. They protected the bourgeoisie, which was in mortal fear of the revolution, they organized the counter-revolution, action by Junkers, officers and fascist volunteers against the revolutionary workers. Out of fear and aversion for the revolution, they did not even have the courage to create guarantees for bourgeois democracy. They left landed Junker proprietorship untouched, they left the Junker army untouched, they left the Junker state machine almost untouched. Thus, from the very outset, underground fortresses of fascism existed in the Weimar Republic. How can any honest Socialist defend this? How can any honest Socialist protest against us displaying, for all to see, the roots of fascism, the causes of its victory?

Let us look at Spain, so as fully to understand what took place in Germany in 1918 to 1923, and what we call Social-Democratism. In Spain, also, a government came to power in 1936 on the crest of the wave of the revolutionary movement of the people, a government in which Socialists were very much in the great majority. In Spain also this government hesitated too long before touching aristocratic landed proprietorship, before driving the counter-revolutionary generals out of the army, before purging the counter-revolutionary state machine, but in the decisive hours the Spanish Socialists together with the Communists mobilized the masses against Franco and armed the people against the counter-revolution.

In 1918-1919, however, the Eberts and Noskes formed an alliance with the German Franco, against the revolution, against the working class, against the people. The tremendous betrayal of Social-Democratism and the tremendous development of Social-Democracy become absolutely clear if we compare the German events of 1918-1919 with the events in Spain today. How then are we to understand the fact that the Socialists still defend the alliance of Ebert and Noske with the German Franco, that they are solid behind the murderers of the German Revolution? Or can we say that there is no difference between Ebert and Negrin, between Noske and Prieto? Must we insult Negrin and Prieto by estimating them as being the same sort of Social-Democrats as the leaders of the German Social-Democracy were in their day? There is a whole world of difference between them, the barricades separate them. Ebert and Noske belonged to the front against which the Spanish people are defending their liberty.

Or can we identify the Italian Socialist Nenni, the Socialists who are fighting in the Garibaldi Battalion, who are giving their lives in the struggle against fascism, with Turratti, who considered not fascism but the Communists to be the main enemy, or with D'Aragona, who like a coward greeted Mussolini after his march on Rome?

Can we identify the Socialists who have no wish to make even the slightest concession to fascism, with Renner, who considered the revolution to be an unfortunate hindrance to serious politicians, or with Otto Bauer, who on the eve of the February battles declared in a leading article that the state based on "estates" was acceptable to Social-Democracy?

Can we identify the Social-Democratic abettors of fascism with the Social-Democratic fighters against fascism? We shall not lie to the working class, we shall never ask them to regard proletarian unity as a compromise with the ruinous views and methods of Social-Democratism. The united party of the proletariat will accept all the fighting traditions of the Social-Democratic workers, the traditions of the great battles for suffrage and democracy, for liberty and peace, but the assassination of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, the bullets fired by Noske's gangs and Zörgiebel's police on the revolutionary workers, the behavior of the Social-Democratic government after the crushing of the Kapp

putsch, the Reichswehr march on Red Saxony and Thuringia, the capitulation of Siepel in July, 1927, and the recognition of the Heimwehr trade union in 1928, the bowing and scraping before Mussolini and the voting for Hitler's foreign policy—all these will never belong to the traditions of this united party. All the fighting traditions of Social-Democracy will live, but Social-Democratism, as the ideology and practice of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, will die a shameful death.

The struggle against Social-Democratism is necessary as long as it exists in the working class movement. In using historical examples to throw light on the essence of Social-Democratism, we wish to open the eyes of our Social-Democratic comrades to the fact that the fatal operation of Social-Democratism continues in our days as well. The working class must understand that at the present time the reactionary leaders of the British working class movement, and their accomplices in other countries are conducting the same sort of policy on an international scale as made it possible for fascism to be victorious in Germany, Italy and Austria.

These people are fighting against working class unity, and support the imperialist policy and armaments of their bourgeoisie. They are prepared to make concessions to Hitler fascism in order thereby to purchase a doubtful breathing space, to betray the liberty and peace of other peoples in the vain hope that thanks to the policy of "non-intervention" the decisive international events will pass by them. They are fearfully scared of utilizing the excellent possibilities that exist for real, resolute opposition, for the movement of the people in England against the Conservatives, lest this popular movement should take on a revolutionary character and shake the Conservative mode of government to its foundations. Just as Tarnoff, the German Social-Democrat, when justifying the cowardly policy of German Social-Democracy during the crisis, declared that Social-Democracy regarded itself as a doctor sitting at the bed of sick capitalism, so the reactionary leaders of the British working class regard themselves as doctors at the bed of British imperialism, and as the representatives of the British Foreign Office in the Second International.

And while the reactionary British government supports Franco, proposes its "mediation" to Hitler, and resorts to all measures to prevent a determined peace front coming into being, the reactionary leaders of the British labor movement declaim at large about England being "the mother of democracy," and that it will not leave its children in misfortune.

Do the leaders of Social-Democratic Parties, which directly have dealings with Hitler fascism, carry on a serious struggle against British Social-Democratism? Alas, they have so much to worry about! They have to spend their time damping down the sympathy of the workers for the Soviet Union, discrediting the victories of socialism achieved under Stalin's leadership, and so they have no time left to settle accounts with this fatal Social-Democratism.

While the "mother of democracy" supports the hangmen of democracy in Spain, and the cowardliness of the so-called democrats encourages Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese militarists to undertake new foul acts of provocation, the bankrupt leaders of German democracy have invented a foul "theory" to the effect that fascism is nothing other than an "imitator of Bolshevism," an "offshoot" of the great Socialist October Revolution. According to this recipe Franco could declare that he is only an "imitator of the People's Front," while De la Rocque could say that had it not been for the Blum government, there would have been no "Fiery Cross" organizations, and the capitalists could assert that were it not for the working class movement there would be no exploitation and wage slavery.

You ask us what we understand by Social-Democratism. Social-Democratism is the miserable "theory" which prevents the working class from achieving victory,

out of the fear that the victory may embitter the bourgeoisie, the theory that recommends the proletariat whenever possible to pretend to be dead, so as to avoid giving rise to conflicts.

Social-Democratism is the mournful complaint: "Had the Bolsheviks not overthrown capitalism, had they allowed Kornilov to crush the revolutionary workers, had they entered an alliance with their Franco, as we did with our Hindenburg, our capitalists would perhaps have left a little place for us as well!" Social-Democratism is the shameful philosophy of those petty bourgeois who are linked up with the big bourgeoisie and who assert that the "non-intervention" of the working class in the world of capitalism is the magic means whereby to transform the capitalist sharks into peaceful carp.

This Social-Democratism has brought serious defeats to the working class, and gave rise to the split in the working class movement. The reactionary Social-Democratic leaders who are most oburate in their resistance to the unification of the working class are no less obdurate in accusing the Communists of being responsible for the split. The stubborn struggle of the Communists for the united front and for a united party, and the stubborn resistance of the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders to unity, show as clearly as possible who are the friends and who the enemies of unity.

How did events result in the split? When the Social-Democratic leaders betrayed their own program, when they departed from Marxism and linked up with the bourgeoisie, the comrades who remained loyal to Marxism and to the cause of the proletariat, revolted against these renegades. When Karl Liebknecht stood alone in the German Reichstag and voted in the name of the masses against treachery and for the program of internationalism, it was not he who was a splitter, but the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag which had split away from the working class.

In France and Czechoslovakia the majority declared in favor of the Communist International, but the Social-Democratic minority fell away from this majority and split the party. The point at issue is not majority or minority, but the life of the entire labor movement.

In 1914-1918 the monstrous betrayal of the working class became clear to all. The leaders of the parties who served imperialism continued as formerly to be called the Socialist Party leadership; those who defended capitalism against the revolution continued as formerly to call themselves Marxists. The Central Committees, which had become accessories of the bourgeoisie, continued as formerly to call themselves proletarians. The contents had gone rotten but the outer cover remained.

Every revolutionary Socialist, who understood this betrayal and foresaw the awful dangers that followed from it, was compelled to exert every effort to win the masses away from the influence of the deceivers. If the leaders lead you not to the front, but into the camp of the enemy, do you become a splitter by the fact that you see through the betrayal and endeavor by all means in your power to draw your friends on to the right path? Maybe in this connection you have made mistakes, maybe you have not succeeded in convincing the majority, but you have fulfilled your duty, you had no right to behave otherwise.

The split in the working class movement was predetermined when the Social-Democratic leaders openly went over at the decisive moment to the side of the bourgeoisie. The mistake of revolutionary Socialists outside Russia was that they did not understand this necessity or that they understood it too late. That is why they failed to forge a party of victory in good time, and to overcome Social-Democratism.

Thus it has required twenty years of agonizing experience to convince the masses of the pernicious character of Social-Democratism, of the correctness and necessity of the revolutionary Leninist policy.

A new unity is maturing, a real unity based not on the deception of the masses,

but on the understanding of Marxism-Leninism and on actual agreement. This unity is what the masses need and wish for, but the representatives of Social-Democratism will not hear of *this* unity. When they speak of unity they have in mind such a "unity" as ensures the reformist lackeys of the bourgeoisie the hegemony over the revolutionary proletariat, a scattered and vague "unity" in the murky light of which one cannot distinguish friends from foes.

The bourgeoisie do not object to this "unity," but set up a howl against the unity of the working class on a revolutionary basis. And once again there becomes clear the role of Social-Democratism as a veil to cover the bourgeoisie, as a mask to enable the class enemy to creep into the working class movement. The resistance of the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders to unity is only the reflection of the resistance offered by the bourgeoisie to unity of the working class. Therefore, to put an end to capitalism and its fiercest forms of domination—fascism—an end must be put to Social-Democratism in the working class movement.

Social-Democratism in Practice

BY F. KRAUS

THERE are certain Social-Democratic leaders and press organs which are not above using the warning cry given by Comrade Dimitroff to the working people, in his article on the twentieth anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution, for the improper purpose of dividing and disorganizing the ranks of the working class, of fighting against unity. A number of over-zealous "critics" have not even shrunk before making obvious falsifications.

In his article, Comrade Dimitroff made it perfectly clear where the ideology and policy of Social-Democratism, reformism, has led the working masses, when he wrote:

"Instead of the promised peaceful, painless transition to socialism, Social-Democratism, by its entire capitulatory and splitting policy, cleared the way for the victory of fascism.

"Had it not been for the Social-Democratism of Turatti and D'Aragona in Italy the victory of the fascism of Mussolini would not have been possible. Had it not been for the Social-Democratism of Ebert and Noske in Germany the victory of the fascism of Hitler would not have been possible. Had it not been for the Social-Democratism of Renner and Bauer in Austria the victory of the fascism of Schuschnigg would not have been possible."

We shall confirm this with facts.

Italy. When, after the World War, the Italian workers and peasants were streaming home from the field of battle, they clearly appreciated the fact that they could not go on living in the old way. Among the masses a mighty movement developed for land, bread, liberty and socialism. During the year 1919-1920 alone, there was 2,000 strikes in Italy, lasting for a total of over 16,000,000 man days. Subsequently, in one of his speeches (Turin, January 20, 1924), Turatti called this mighty onslaught of the Italian working class movement a period when "they lost their bearings." The working masses, however, knew their bearings; they wanted to finish once and for all with the rule of the bourgeoisie. But they were led by a party of Social-Democratism, reformism, a party pursuing a policy of class collaboration, a policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie. This party was filled with terror at the power of the mass movement, and it was precisely this party that disorganized the movement and made it "lose its bearings." Turatti and his like made it their object, as he himself expressed it, "to enlighten the masses regarding their fatal illusions."

The working masses occupied the factories, the peasants seized the land of the landowners. Works committees were set up. But Turatti and other leaders, moved by the ruinous spirit of reformism, adhered as before to the policy of class collaboration. Turatti expressed this in the above-mentioned speech in the following way:

"We were of necessity forced for a long time to take part in the restoration process, regardless of who was responsible for the war. . . ."

Turatti and the reformist leaders did all in their power to deprive the strikes of their revolutionary content and to restrict them to purely economic demands. At the time when the fac-

tories were occupied in September, 1920, a meeting took place of trade union and Socialist leaders, at which, as Pietro Nenni relates in his book:

"Two different currents were apparent. Some wanted to preserve the original trade union character of the movement, while others strove to convert it into the starting point for the decisive struggle to win political power."*

The first current—the current of reformism, of capitulation—was victorious. Mussolini, who at that time was trying "to make contacts again with the Socialists," approved the victory of Social-Democratism. And so the Italian proletariat suffered a heavy blow in consequence of this blunting of the fighting character of the movement.

The offensive of fascism became more and more insolent and concentrated. Attacks on workers' homes, the murder of trade union and Socialist officials, the employment of terror and persecution against the anti-fascist population by Mussolini's gangs grew into a riot of savagery. At that time the Socialist Party was a tremendous force. It had over 216,000 members, over 156 deputies; Socialists were at the head of 2,162 municipal and 26 provincial councils. But reformism prevented the party from using this force, from making a courageous stand against fascism, from mobilizing the masses of the proletariat and revolutionary peasantry and setting them in motion for the fight to destroy fascism. Once more we give the floor to Nenni, a witness not to be suspected of bias.

"The contradiction between their [*i.e.*, the Social-Democrats—F. K.] words and deeds, inability to pass from confused formulae to action, the fatal sharpening of contradictions [between the revolutionaries and the reformists—F. K.]—all this helped to bring about the internal disintegration of the party more than did the fascist offensive."**

Perpetual retreats, perpetual concessions, keeping the working class back from decisive battles, scattering the revolutionary energy of the masses, bragging and moralizing instead of action—all this helped the ruling class and their fascist guard of butchers to gather strength, all this encouraged them to undertake further crimes against the working people, weakened the proletariat, isolated them from the remaining sections of the working people and facilitated the victory of bloody fascism.

"While the masses were in possession of the streets and factories, the leaders wasted time in discussions . . . which displayed their indecision. As for the bourgeoisie, they knew no indecision, no restraint,"* writes Nenni.

On April 26, 1921, Turatti wrote the following words to the workers of Barletti, who had for the first time suffered a fierce attack at the hands of the fascists:

". . . don't reply to the insults, be good and patient, be like saints. . . ."

This is the typical reply given by the unscrupulous bourgeoisie and their fascist watchdogs to attacks, violence and murder.

Not only did they appeal for "saintliness" and "non-resistance" to fascism; D'Aragona and other reformist leaders afforded direct aid to fascism. They declared that the "trade unions have no intention of acting against the law." (Fascist "law"!—F. K.)

After the march on Rome, D'Aragona flirted quite openly with Mussolini and even negotiated with him regarding participation in the fascist government. D'Aragona declared himself ready to collaborate with the fascist government "technically" in the same form as that in which the trade unions had collaborated with former governments. The leadership of Social-Democracy and the reformist trade unions more than once reiterated that they were ready to "put

* Pietro Nenni, *The Life and Death Struggle for Freedom*, p. 68.

** *Ibid.*, p. 89.

* *Ibid.*, p. 88.

themselves at Mussolini's disposal for the operation of a program . . . of social pacification."* They helped to bring about "unification of the trade unions" with the fascists and nationalists. A Trade Union Unity Committee was set up which included representatives of all currents of the trade union movement. This committee issued an appeal, printed in *Avanti* of December 14, 1922 (after the march on Rome!) in which we read:

"International contacts between the trade unions must exclude the possibility of any act whatsoever that may cause harm to the nation, whose common interests at any rate . . . must be regarded . . . as being above the specific interests of classes."

The ruinous policy of reformism led not to the victory of the working class and socialism, but to the victory of Mussolini, fascism and the warmongers! This is the hard truth, from which conclusions should be drawn.

Germany. On January 6, 1919, during the days of the stormy upsurge of the German revolution, Noske made the following horrible, bloodthirsty statement: "Well, what of it! Somebody has to be the bloodhound, and I'm not afraid of the responsibility!" Noske himself boasts of this utterance in his book *From Kiel to Kapp*, which appeared in 1920. Somebody had to be the bloodhound so as to smother the revolution of the workers and peasants, the revolution of the working masses, to drown it in blood and lead the working people to defeat, the fruits of which Hitler is now reaping.

In Luebeck, Schwerin, Cuxhaven, Brunsbettel, Hamburg and Kiel the sailors rose up in arms demanding the overthrow of Wilhelm, amnesty, armistice, peace, election rights. The flames of the great October Socialist Revolution lit up for the German proletariat the way they should take in order to win complete victory. "There was unrest and ferment in the big works. It seemed as though the transmission belts were moving faster, and the wheels revolving more nervously. . . . Everything was in a fever," —this is how Philip Scheidemann describes the situation at that time in Germany in his *Memoirs of a Social-Democrat*. The big bourgeoisie was terror-stricken, it was prepared to retreat. Noske himself writes:

"Even in the capital, the old rulers did not dare to go into the fight. Caught unawares, at a loss, they vanished from the surface."

Prince Max Badensky tells of his conversation with Ebert. The Prince asked Ebert:

". . . If I succeed in persuading the Emperor [of the need to abdicate—F. K.], will you be on my side in the struggle against social revolution?"

Ebert replied "without hesitation or ambiguity":

"If the Emperor does not abdicate, the social revolution is inevitable. But I do not want it, I have a deadly hatred of it."

The masses of the German proletariat stormed the old society, formed Soviets of workers' and soldiers' deputies. Stormy demonstrations followed one after the other. But at that time the German proletariat were led by a party soaked in the spirit of "hatred for the revolution," the spirit of reformism, of Social-Democratism. In order to restore "peace and order," *i.e.*, to strengthen the power of the bourgeoisie, Ebert and the government of the day, which was in the hands of Social-Democracy, appointed Noske Commander-in-Chief with "very extensive powers." White troops were sent to the capital, headed by old, imperial, counter-revolutionary officers, hostile to the working class. For the "restoration of order" against the workers, Noske relied on the Cavalry Guards Rifle division, officers of which foully murdered Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Lieutenant Vogel and Hussar Runge, the murderers, were let

* *Avanti*, August 25, 1925.

off with light terms of imprisonment, other accused were acquitted, while the real organizers were not even prosecuted. All these Eberts, Noskes and their like undertook no purge of the Reichswehr, took no measures to put the courts in order. The counter-revolution dug itself in and concentrated its forces in the state apparatus, in the key positions of the Reichswehr, in the law courts.

The blood of the workers ran in streams. Noske's Guards, with the endorsement of Ebert and the Social-Democratic government, restored "order" not only in Berlin: real punitive expeditions were sent to Bremen, Cuxhaven, Bremenhaven and other districts. It was not for nothing that Major von Papst, the hangman of the workers, who took part in many plots against the republic and was subsequently one of the chief organizers of the Heimwehr in Austria, handed out the testimonial to Noske that he "set to work, inspired with the firm intention of restoring order as quickly as possible."

The March battles in Berlin, the battles in Goete, the Munich Soviet Republic, the workers' uprisings in different parts of Germany, were suppressed by Noske's and Ebert's Guards. Old time generals, many of whom now occupy posts under Hitler, were in command. The "Freikorps" troops, which subsequently merged with the storm detachments, were formed at that time. Reaction insolently raised its head and consolidated its positions. In vain did the workers ask for aid. In vain rang out the workers' cries of alarm: "The Revolution is in danger!" The White Guard, armed by Ebert and Noske and their officers, seized the masses by the throat. One after another, regions were "pacified." Reaction, encouraged and tolerated by the government, converted the state apparatus into an instrument of which even Stampfer, the Social-Democrat, was compelled to say in his book *Fourteen Years of the German Republic:*

"The sharp instrument of imperial power operated only against the Lefts. In the struggle against the Rights, it was passive."

And this "instrument" "operated" until democracy utterly ceased to "operate" and Hitler took over the reins of power. During the days of revolution, Scheidemann declared:

"My Party will see to it that Germany is rid of Bolshevism."

And they did indeed "see to it." If the workers in Germany are today proving their loyalty to socialism and democracy with their lives, if Hitler is in our time turning his weapons of death against the Spanish people and preparing a world slaughter, the workers realize that had it not been for the ruinous spirit of Social-Democratism spread by Ebert and Noske, had it not been for the spirit of hatred of revolution, Hitler would never, on any account, have come to power. Had the revolution not been suppressed in 1918-1920; had there been no punitive expeditions into Braunschweig, Thuringia, Bavaria, Saxony, Central Germany, the Ruhr; had there been no constant capitulations to the big bourgeoisie, there would not now be Hitler, the concentration camps, executioners' blocks, the Hitler regime directed against the people and the working class.

Austria. When the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was brought down, Social-Democracy, which had the support of the majority of the proletariat, had every possibility of leading the revolution to complete victory. In his book *The Austrian Revolution,* Otto Bauer admits:

"The October Revolution laid the foundation for the hegemony of the working class . . . in . . . Austria." (p. 136.)

Over and over again he speaks of the "thorough shaking-up of the bourgeois system," in Austria at that time. Social-Democracy, however, hastened to form a coalition government with the reactionary parties, giving it the wrong name of "collaboration between the workers and peasants." But Bauer has

to admit that "inside this coalition . . . the forces were by no means equal," and that "the party of the proletariat [*i.e.*, Social-Democracy—F. K.] was by far the stronger partner." (P. 129.)

At that time Otto Bauer used up quite an amount of ink and delivered quite a number of speeches, to persuade the proletarians of Austria that Austria must be "saved" from Bolshevism. Social-Democracy systematically converted popular defense into an organ of the power of the bourgeoisie. On June 15, 1919, a workers' demonstration was fired on and twenty workers killed. The old counter-revolutionary police officers and chiefs remained at the head of the police. Otto Bauer informs us that:

"We were aware of these preparations [for June 15—F. K.] and we decided to defend ourselves. On June 12 I reported to the Entente war mission that we had no possibility of making the reduction in the Volkswehr demanded of us. The Entente, fearing that Bolshevism would spread to Vienna, reconciled themselves to this rejection of their demand; thus the members of the Volkswehr were saved from the danger of dismissal which might have pushed them into the arms of Bolshevism."

This is one of the many tricks to which Bauer resorted in order to strengthen the power of the bourgeoisie. Bauer boasts of the fact that he and others like him split the Austrian proletariat:

"The defensive war against Bolshevism in German Austria was not a class war between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, but a struggle inside the working class. The bourgeoisie watched this struggle going on among the proletariat, without influencing it or understanding it."

But the bourgeoisie did not remain inactive, but left it to Renner and Bauer to "warn" the working class against "Bolshevism," to split the proletariat. The ruling class itself began to set up and extend its own organizations in order to carry through putsches and plots. The fact pointed out by the Communists that reaction was gathering strength was ridiculed by the "learned saviors": "The Communists," they said, "are seeing double in their fright."

The workers Still, Birneker, Krovarik, Muller, fell victims to various fascist organizations. Seipel, Major von Papst and others feverishly organized the Heimwehr. In Schattendorf, Burgenland, fascist bandits opened fire from a hotel upon peaceful workers on their way to a Social-Democratic meeting. The murderers were acquitted. On July 15, 1927, the Vienna proletariat came out on to the streets. The police answered with a blood-bath. The workers demanded action, but Bauer and Renner replied with fine phrases. Had there been at that time at the head of the workers

". . . a truly revolutionary party unafraid of struggle and honestly desirous of the victory of the working class of Austria, then the power of fascism would have been broken once and for all time."

So said Comrade Dimitroff in a speech to the Schutzbundists in 1934.

But Social-Democracy retreated again and again before the bourgeoisie. It passed from capitulation to capitulation. One might say that it carried through forced marches while retreating. When, on March 15, 1933, Dolfuss "turned out" the parliament, the workers and Schutzbundists waited in the offices of their organizations for the signal to save democracy in Austria. In February, 1934, Bauer had an article in the *Kampf*, theoretical organ of Austrian Social-Democracy, in which he tried to prove "in Marxist fashion" that the working class could reconcile itself even to the "system based on estate." Hardly did this number of the *Kampf* make its appearance than the state organs were cannonading the municipal tenements and workers' clubs, giving battle according to all the laws of the military art, and shooting down thousands of workers by grapeshot.

At the end of the road along which Social-Democratism led the toiling

masses there waited not "the conquest of socialism by democracy," but the establishment of the bloody authoritarian dictatorship with the gallows, penitentiary prisons, concentration camps, the robbery of the workers' property, the crushing of legal working class organizations; and the proletariat were deprived of the rights they had gained.

The ideology and policy of reformism, of endless capitulation, endless betrayal of the interests of the working class, allegedly in the name of the "painless" road to socialism—this policy did not save the working class of Austria, but temporarily saved the power of the exploiting class.

This is the naked, bitter truth, from which Comrade Dimitroff draws conclusions that serve as a warning to the workers against the poison of Social-Democratism, which operates for the benefit of the banking magnates and brings misery to the proletariat, working people generally, honest democrats and friends of peace.

It is precisely on the basis of this bitter experience that wide circles of Social-Democrat workers have learned a great deal. They are to an increasing extent swinging away from the ideology and policy of reformism, collaboration with the bourgeoisie, endless retreats and concessions, the demobilization of the masses. It is precisely on the basis of this experience that increasingly wide masses are becoming convinced that the ranks must be closed, the proletarian united front and the anti-fascist People's Front be forged, that resistance must be offered to fascism, and the way barred to fascist victory. Remembering this bitter experience, we must in addition learn to overcome the split in the working class, to put an end to the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, the policy of reformism, of Social-Democratism, in order to bring about unity between Communists and Socialists in a single party, to restore, to strengthen and extend the iron unity of the proletariat.

The Fascist Coup d'Etat in Brazil

BY F. LACERDA

GETULIO VARGAS, former President of the Republic of Brazil, has declared himself dictator.

In Vargas one sees a clearly expressed type of fascist adventurer who stops at nothing and is capable of selling himself to the devil to satisfy his bestial instincts and thirst for power.

The reactionary and anti-national policy pursued by President Vargas called into being the democratic and anti-imperialist movement in the year 1935, and the formation of the National-Liberation Alliance headed by the Communist Luis Carlos Prestes, national hero of the Brazilian people. By spreading Hitler forgeries and Trotskyite provocation, Vargas ruthlessly crushed this movement and, utilizing his victory, began to operate the methods of the German Gestapo (incidentally, his chiefs of police were especially trained in Berlin in the "art" of combatting democracy).

The year 1936 was marked by the crimes committed by the ferocious semi-fascist dictatorship, by tortures, assassinations of Communists, democrats, liberals and all who were opposed to handing Brazil over to be torn to pieces by the bloody bloc of foreign fascism. At that time, however, Vargas had not yet succeeded in consolidating his dictatorship. The beginning of the courageous democratic movement led by the democratic Student Alliance; the beginning of the election campaign for the presidential elections, set for January 3, 1938; the putting forward of two democratic candidates instead of Vargas, the candidate of the fascist Integralist Party; the international campaign in aid of Prestes and the victims of Brazilian fascism—all this compelled Vargas to make some concessions. He lifted the state of martial law declared in 1935, restored a number of civil liberties previously abolished, pretended to support Jose Americo, who had been put forward as candidate for the presidency by the national-reformist and democratic forces, including the circles connected with the National-Liberation Alliance and supported by groups under the influence of the U.S.A.

On October 2, 1937, armed with new forgeries about the existence of a Communist plot, fabricated, as revealed by Waldemar Fereira, a member of Parliament, by leaders of the Integralists and a General Staff officer of the Brazilian army, an agent of Hitler, Vargas managed to win over to his side the groups supporting the candidature of Jose Americo. Not only did he declare a still severer state of martial law, but he also forced his new allies to support his reactionary measures against the second democratic candidate, Armando Calles de Oliveira, connected with the U.S.A. and with England.

Having in this way brought about a split among the anti-fascist forces who were ready to form a united democratic front against fascism, and continuing as hitherto to deceive public opinion inside the country and throughout the world by assuring everybody that the new state of martial law did not mean the cancelation of the elections and the election campaign, Vargas prepared the conditions for a successful fascist coup d'etat; and, in fact, on November 10, 1936, Vargas dismissed Parliament in Rio de Janeiro

at the point of the bayonets of the fascist generals, shut down public and working class organizations, canceled the presidential elections for 1938 as well as the 1934 Constitution and, like Mussolini and Hitler, declared himself fascist "Fuehrer" of semi-colonial Brazil.

WHAT IS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE VARGAS COUP?

Vargas, his ambassadors in the U.S.A. and in France, and his War Minister deny the fascist character of the coup d'etat in Brazil or that it is linked with the bloc of fascist aggressors. They even go so far as to talk of "a new type of democratic regime." But the *Times*, the organ of the British conservatives, estimated the Vargas coup as "the ordinary thing for South America."

Fundamentally, it is a pure fascist coup d'etat, part of the plans of the fascist warmongers.

This is confirmed, first, by Vargas' new "constitution." True, Vargas declares that this "constitution" will be supported by a "plebiscite," but . . . organized by the military dictatorship which will fight against "every movement giving rise in the country to unrest and disorder," whatever the origin of the movement. Everybody knows the worth of a "plebiscite" which takes place in conditions of terror, military concentration camps of the Hitler type, and threats against "all who attempt to lay their hands on the state." And, like the Hitler plebiscite, this "plebiscite" will have to "bear testimony to the confidence" of the people in Vargas, President of the Republic.

The whole of the country's economy is organized on corporative lines and under the "sponsorship and guardianship of the state." Vargas is organizing a corporative state after the example set by the fascist countries. The fascist character of the coup is also confirmed by the internal and external forces which have inspired and supported Vargas. Inside the country the coup had the support chiefly of the most reactionary sections of the big bourgeoisie, feudal landlords and military-fascist cliques. All these people are united under the banner of the "Action Integralist Brazilien," a party formed in 1931-1932. The party is led by Italians, a fact of which the *Popolo d'Italia* writes quite openly, as well as German fascists like Hans Hening, Prince Schomburg Lippe, Von Kossel, the same Kossel to whom the representatives of National-Socialism abroad referred with such pride at the last congress in Stuttgart because of his "splendid" work in Brazil.

The Integralist Party is financed by Italian and German capitalists. The German "Trans-Atlantic Bank" alone provided Plinio Salgado with $400,000 for the "election campaign." According to the information of the police of the state of Bahia, the leaders of the Integralists intended organizing a bloody fascist coup as far back as 1936 with the support of the Italian consul and with arms imported from Germany through the German trading firm of "Gazenklover and Co." in Rio de Janeiro. By order of Hitler and Mussolini as well as the Japanese militarists, 700,000 Germans, 1,500,000 Italians and 170,000 to 200,000 Japanese living in Brazil—and some of these foreigners live in concessions like the "extraterritorial" concessions in China —were to have supported the leaders of the Integralists. By their demagogic attacks against English and North American enterprises, the most unpopular Integralist leaders acquired a certain amount of influence among the masses.

As for Vargas, he has long been in receipt of direct support from the fascist countries. He has long been assisting fascism to penetrate into Brazil and helping to consolidate its positions.

The relative importance of Germany in Brazil's total trade balance increases from year to year. German building enterprises and electric power stations are beginning to crowd out the British and, in particular, the American: they supply the towns of Brazil with water and electricity; they are getting control of the ports and mercantile shipping, and monopolize the air lines, especially those between the Atlantic Coast of Brazil and

Bolivia and Bolivia and the Pacific Coast of Peru. German enterprises connected with Krupps are in possession of the nickel, copper, iron and oil deposits; almost the whole of the cotton produced in Brazil falls into Hitler's hands. Thus, having won strong economic positions in Brazil, Hitler has begun to exert direct influence upon the policy of Brazil through the Integralist Party and Vargas, who, in the sponsorship he gets from Hitler, has found a reliable support for his ambitious aims.

While Hitler tries to conceal from world public opinion the role he played in the Vargas coup, fascist Italy is much more outspoken. The *Mesagero* of November 15 writes that the coup in Brazil —"is the first consequence of the energetic attitude adopted by Italy, Germany and Japan toward Communism." In the *Temps* of November 15, its Rome correspondent reports the opinion of political circles of Italy that "for the first time the Italian idea is victoriously paving its way in the New World," and that "henceforth fascism is acquiring a basis in the richest and most thickly populated regions of Latin America." It is characteristic that immediately after the signing of the so-called anti-Communist agreement with Germany and Japan, Mussolini "prophesied" that Brazil "intends to liberate itself from the survivals of the year 1789."

Thus, the Vargas coup links Brazil with the fascist bloc of aggression and banditism.

The fascist nature of the Vargas coup is also confirmed by the fact that it was aimed at all the internal democratic forces and against the influence of countries belonging to the forces of peace and democracy. First and foremost it was aimed against the influence of the United States of America.

This coup was fatal for both candidates representing the national-reformist elements, and also the feudal and bourgeois groups which prefer the influence of England, France and North America to the influence of the bloc of fascist states. Both candidatures were withdrawn, the deputies and senators belonging to both groups were forcibly deprived of their mandates; the governors of states supporting these candidates were compelled to resign, being even threatened with imprisonment. A number of political leaders who supported these candidates found refuge in foreign embassies or in neighboring countries. The former Governor of Rio de Janeiro, recently released from prison, was once arrested together with his son.

At the same time, despite the hypocritical declarations of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Vargas cabinet that Brazil had not joined the pact of the three fascist bandits, the dictator has already delivered his first blows against American enterprises in Brazil, by depriving them of concessions and handing them over to German capitalists. On the other hand, Vargas is threatening to cease payments to English and American creditors, and is demanding that mining, banking and insurance enterprises (all of which are American or British) be transferred to "national" companies. Almost all these "national" companies are controlled by German fascists.

WHAT IS IT THAT ATTRACTS THE FASCIST WARMONGERS TO BRAZIL?

There are large quantities of cotton, iron, nickel, oil and manganese in Brazil, as well as meat, rice, coffee and other supplies required to supply armies in wartime; moreover, Brazil is a source of attraction to the German, Italian and Japanese fascists as an excellent military and naval strategical base, which will be of invaluable service in the event of a new war against peaceful peoples, and especially against the U.S.A.

In Brazil, out of the 47,000,000 population, there are about 700,000 Germans and 200,000 Japanese, all of whom have undergone military training; there are about 1,500,000 Italians and over 2,000,000 Portuguese. That is not a bad reserve of "cannon-fodder" for carrying out the bloody plans of the fascist bloc.

Brazil, this tasty morsel for the ag-

gressors, cannot at the present moment offer strong resistance to the appetites of the fascist vultures. The economy of Brazil, a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, is based chiefly upon the cultivation of coffee, the export of which amounts to 40 to 50 per cent of the total export. Sixty per cent of the industry working to provide for the home market of Brazil is textiles. Despite the huge reserves of iron, nickel and manganese, the "heavy" industry consists merely of a few blast-furnaces and primarily of small foundry shops producing the most primitive agricultural tools and machines for working up the coffee, rice, etc.

Brazil has to pay over 8,000,000 pounds sterling annually to the United States of America, England and France, on capital invested in the national economy and on state debts. British capital investments exceed $1,500,000,000, and American $500,000,000, while the balance of exports over imports to Brazil, in the year 1936, did not exceed 4,500,000 pounds sterling.

There are no more than 800,000 members of the working class in Brazil. There are about 12,000,000 peasants, almost 60 per cent of whom are poor peasants. The peasantry are almost totally illiterate and consists of Negroes, American Indians and Mestisans, as cruelly exploited as the Russian serfs and semi-serfs in tsarist days.

The petty bourgeoisie and national-reformist bourgeoisie form an extremely large but still weak and very scattered group of the population. Of late, especially in the North, they have fallen victims to the demagogy of Vargas and German agents who have promised to free them from the British and American monopoly of cotton, oil, etc.

The army of Brazil is weak, like all semi-colonial armies, and at the present time is led by fascist generals who have sold themselves to foreign fascism. The democratic officers and soldiers are either in prison or exile. The chief leaders of the Communist Party and of the democrats, beginning with Prestes, are under arrest and are menaced with death.

THE PROSPECTS AND TASKS OF THE DEMOCRATS OF BRAZIL

Despite all these factors so unfavorable for the struggle against fascism there are no grounds in Brazil for panic in the ranks of the democratic forces.

First, because democratic world opinion has already begun to react to Vargas' fascist coup. Working class and other organizations of the people, as, for example, the Mexican Confederation of Labor, the League Against War and Fascism in the U.S.A., the "People's Aid" in France, have already taken up a determined stand against the fascist government of Vargas. The democratic and Communist newspapers of Europe and America are unmasking the plans of the fascist bloc in Brazil and Latin America. In the Argentine the democratic press is supporting the democrats who have found refuge in Buenos Aires.

Second, support is not wanting from the democratic forces of Brazil itself. True, Vargas has deceived and split them. But the groups connected with the U.S.A. are nevertheless dissatisfied with the policy of Vargas, and, what is important, the democratic traditions of the Brazilian people are very strong, and have grown stronger still during the recent democratic battles against the fascist agents of the aggressor bloc. The Vargas coup was an open provocation of civil war, and that just at a moment when the people were expecting a peaceful solution of the presidential elections set for January 3, 1938.

Vargas is aware of the existence of deep-rooted discontent among the people. Consequently he is doing his utmost to try to camouflage the fascist nature of the coup and, calculating to fool simpletons, he is introducing a clause into the "constitution" about compulsory labor agreements, the minimum wage, a moratorium on debts, a demand for Brazilian bondholders to participate in mining, banking, insurance and other enterprises, etc.

Vargas was victorious on November 10 because the forces grouped around Jose

Americo underestimated the warnings of the Communist Party of Brazil and all true democrats, who had sounded the alarm concerning the menace of a fascist coup d'etat. Vargas was victorious because these forces regarded Communism as their chief enemy and so unconsciously helped Vargas and the fascists to disarm the people and liquidate the opposition forces led by Armando Calles.

Only unity of the forces dissatisfied with the coup is capable of delivering a blow at Vargas and ensuring the victory of Brazilian democracy. Only unity for the purpose of restoring the 1934 Constitution and the bringing of Vargas to account for violating his oath to the people, unity to restore parliament and the liberties destroyed by the coup, unity for the sake of averting the civil war which Vargas and the fascists want to provoke in Brazil as Franco did in Spain —can deliver a blow at Vargas and bring freedom to Brazilian democracy.

The national-reformist elements who are dreaming of liberating themselves from the imperialist monopolies and who believed in the promises of Vargas and his fascist masters are gradually becoming persuaded of the fact that the U.S.A. and Britain must be asked for moratoriums on debts, for less severe conditions in the agreements covering their enterprises, that efforts must be made to develop national industry, trade and agriculture, and that it would be madness to break with the bourgeois-democratic countries only in order to fall into the bloody clutches of the fascist bloc. The example of Ethiopia, Spain and China has shown the people of Brazil how the fascist imperialists "defend" the independence of weak peoples.

The truly progressive elements of Brazil are in favor of the unity of all the democratic forces of Brazil with the democratic forces of the United States of America, England, France—of all countries on the continent and throughout the world fighting against fascism and war! They know that the enemies of the people are not the Communists, but Vargas, the leaders of the Integralists, the military-fascist clique, the base agents of the fascist bloc, against whom a relentless struggle must be waged.

THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRAZIL

During the last few years the Communist Party of Brazil has suffered big losses. Hundreds of capable Communists, devoted to the working class cause, have been incarcerated in jails. A number of the Party's officials have been killed. The Trotskyites are trying to split the Communist Party, are fighting against its leadership, are opposing the tactics of the anti-fascist People's Front, etc.

Despite all the difficulties, the Communist Party of Brazil is not retreating from the Leninist-Stalinist position it has adopted. The Communist Party is the only political party which from 1935 has uttered warnings against the menace of a fascist coup d'etat by Vargas, who is connected with the leaders of the Integralists and with Italian and German fascism. In the course of the campaign connected with the election of the President, the Communist Party exerted all its efforts toward securing the unification of the democratic forces in one united genuinely democratic bloc against the danger of civil war and a fascist coup d'etat.

The Communist Party of Brazil has already begun a serious struggle against the false, sectarian views which are still to be found in the ranks of the Party as regards the appraisal of the character of the present stage of revolution in Brazil and of the forces which should take part in it. The Communists understand that the chief task of the proletariat and of the Communists in Brazil is the struggle for a real democratic republic, against internal reaction and fascism and against imperialist oppression, and that guided by this general line the Communists should at each given moment know how to determine the chief, specific enemy—the enemy of the peace, liberty and national liberation of the country. At the present moment these specific enemies are Vargas, the Integral-

ist leaders pursuing a putschist policy, and the barbarous aggressor-imperialists, *i.e.*, the fascist bloc.

In the interests of this struggle, the Party is ridding itself of its old sectarian heritage and is entering into temporary alliance with all groups, classes, parties and associations which agree to wage the anti-fascist struggle. Moreover, the Party is fighting against fascism side by side with the bourgeois-democratic countries and governments such as, for example, the U.S.A. and France. At the present time in Brazil the slogan: "Struggle against every form of imperialism," is a Trotskyite slogan, for it splits the anti-fascist ranks and weakens the struggle against the present chief enemy—the fascist bloc of Germany, Japan, Italy and its agents in Brazil.

Vargas, who is linked up with the world fascist bloc and the leaders of the Integralists, wants civil war. The Integralist leadership has several times proclaimed a "revolution" after the fashion of the "revolution" of Franco in Spain.

For the democratic, anti-fascist struggle, for the struggle for the national liberation of Brazil, the Party sets itself the task of mobilizing and organizing millions of Brazilian peasants around the simplest slogans most easily understood by the peasantry: reduction in taxation, rents, freedom of movement, defense of peasant lands, etc., slogans connected with the common struggle against fascism and the oppressors of Brazil, particularly against the Japanese and other concessionaires who drive the peasants from the strips of land they occupy.

Bearing in mind the importance of organizational questions, which have become particularly acute after the serious blows of 1935-37, the Party considers its chief task to be the consolidation and extension of its own ranks.

It is first and foremost a question of re-educating the Party's old forces, who were trained primarily on sectarian slogans, and of educating new, still young forces. For the correct conduct of this educational work, the lessons must be drawn from the 1935 movement. The following mistakes were made in the uprising of the armed forces of the Northeast and Rio de Janeiro, under the banner of the National Liberation Alliance:

1. A false political line was adopted, expressed in the incorrect, untimely slogan of the formation of a national-revolutionary government in the center of the country, and Soviet Government in the states;

2. There was a neglectful attitude toward the organizations of the masses and their battles;

3. The forces of the enemy were underestimated, while the revolutionary forces were overestimated, as shown particularly by the assertion that 70 per cent of the army were on the side of the revolution or had become demoralized; that the army would be more likely to follow Prestes than Vargas, etc.;

4. There were insufficient revolutionary vigilance and struggle against provocation, thus enabling provocative elements to worm their way into the ranks of revolutionary organizations, including the Communist Party;

5. The point was not understood that the hegemony of the proletariat is not an empty phrase, but that it is achievable only if there is a strong party connected with the masses and enjoying the confidence of the majority of the people. Hence there arises the main task of organizing the anti-fascist forces in accordance with the new conditions of struggle and on the basis of strengthening connections with the masses.

The basic weakness of Latin America and in particular of Brazil was the overestimation of the role of individual heroism and at the same time the underestimation of the role and importance of the masses. Yet the history of mankind shows that it is written not by individual heroes, but by the people. Individual heroism is essential, but if this heroism is not followed by action on the part of the masses, if the heroes are not merged with the masses, the action they take will

be an adventure and will be doomed to failure.

In his concluding speech at the February-March Plenary Session of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. in 1937, Comrade Stalin spoke of the invincibility of Communists when they maintain connections with the masses. Comrade Stalin referred to the example of Antaeus, the hero of Greek mythology, who was strong when in contact with the earth, his mother. So Communists also will be invincible. "They, like Antaeus, are strong because they maintain connection with their mother, the masses, who gave birth to them, suckled them and reared them. And as long as they maintain connection with their mother, with the people, they have every chance of remaining invincible." The Party will always be guided by these words of Comrade Stalin.

Further, the significance of the struggle of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet government against the Trotsky-Zinoviev-Bukharinite agents of fascism must be better mastered. It is not yet sufficiently clearly understood by all that Trotskyism is no longer a political current inside the working class, that the Trotskyites have become gangs of spies, assassins, terrorists, and are the bitterest enemies of democracy, the people, the working class.

We Communists must be able to reveal in their true colors such people who, behind a screen of "Left" and "revolutionary" phrases (immediate Soviet or socialist revolution, immediate uprising, struggle against all imperialists, against all the national bourgeoisie, etc.), conduct their vile provocation and disintegrate the anti-fascist ranks, and are actually counter-revolutionary Trotskyites, agents of fascism, the Integralist leaders and Vargas.

The Brazilian Communists must not confuse these provocateur elements with comrades who have let themselves be carried away by "Left" phrases, but who honestly want to correct their mistakes, to defend the line of the Party, to serve the working class and the people. The first, the Trotskyite provocateurs, we shall unmask and ruthlessly drive out of our organizations, demanding that they be thrown out of every working class and people's organization. As for the second, the Party will try to re-educate them.

The Communist Party of Brazil is against all factional struggle, under whatever pretext it may break out, for it can only benefit the enemy and weaken the Party.

A struggle must be carried on against any frivolous attitude toward the selection of cadres: from top to bottom, a careful study must be made of cadres, of the past of each Party worker, his behavior during the struggle, in prison, before the police and the courts. Moreover, the Party must get a clear picture of the political physiognomy of each of its workers, his personal contacts, his attitude to the people's anti-fascist and anti-imperialist front, to the leadership and line of the Party, to the line of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and the Soviet Union, to the C.P.S.U., its Central Committee and Comrade Stalin. In this way the Party will the sooner unmask the enemies who conceal their real counter-revolutionary character behind Left phrases.

By carrying out these tasks, by uniting with all the forces of democracy and peace, with all honest anti-fascists in Brazil and the whole world, the Communist Party will be fulfilling its duty to the people, and will help to restore the democratic liberties in Brazil necessary for the development, progress and prosperity of our people.

Rally Closer the Ranks of the People's Front, Destroy the Rebels and Interventionists!

BY JOSE DIAZ

CERTAIN RESULTS AND LESSONS OF OUR STRUGGLE

THE present plenum* of the Central Committee of our Party has gathered together at a difficult moment in the struggle of the Spanish people against the rebels and the interventionist troops of Germany and Italy, a struggle which has now dragged on for more than sixteen months.

The first government elected after the fascist rebellion was distinguished by its exceptional weakness. Disconnected from the masses of the people, without a clear understanding of the situation in the country, and of the prospect before it, it was incapable of leading the people in such a way as to bring a rapid solution of the problems of the war and of the anti-fascist people's revolution, by basing itself on the enthusiasm and fighting spirit of the masses.

The place of this government was taken by the Largo Caballero government which from the very outset enjoyed the necessary support that would enable it to carry through a firm Popular Front policy and to achieve victory over the enemy. But this government also fell, because of its failure to cope with the tasks facing it. Now we are paying for the mistakes committed by the Caballero government, mistakes which had catastrophic consequences, particularly in the development of the war.

As head of the government and as Minister of Defense, Largo Caballero displayed such weakness, such a stubborn lack of understanding and impermissible tardiness in the solution of the most important tasks arising out of the war, that we can, without exaggeration, call his behavior a criminal one to the people. Largo Caballero surrounded himself with traitors, with enemies of the people. Some of the military men who were his advisers, such as Ascensio, are now in jail.

It is with a feeling of sharp pain that we have to note the fact that had the head of the former government taken heed of the warnings uttered from all sides in relation to these gentry, it is possible that part of the valuable territory of the country would not now be under the heel of the foreign conqueror. Largo Caballero's policy was leading us to catastrophe.

The present government received a difficult heritage, but it has achieved considerable results in solving some of the basic problems of the war. There is more order, more discipline in our country now than before. We know that much energy and determination are required of the government in order to make up for the time lost, to correct mistakes committed, and to achieve victory. The government must give proof of unswerving determination in crushing all enemies of the people and in purging the officer per-

* Abridged stenogram of speech delivered at the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain, held November 13-16, 1937.

sonnel, the government machine and the entire rear of the agents of the enemy. The people wish for and demand this determination. And no confusion is permissible here, for it is well known who are our friends and who our enemies.

The time has long gone by when our Party was practically alone in putting forward the insistent demand for the establishment of a regular army with a single command as the elementary and only condition for the struggle against the rebels and interventionists. Now such an army is already in existence.

It is a great people's army, which has already proved in deeds that it can maintain itself like a rock of granite against the onslaught of the enemy, that it can wage a war of maneuver and defeat the enemy in open country. Our army now has its own commanders, many of whom came from the old army and are devoted to the republic. I wish to mention the names of a few of these old officers who are devoted to the people and have honestly served them from the very outset of the fascist revolt to this day. We have General Miaja. He is a great military leader who has emerged from the people and who serves the people honestly. We have Generals Pozas, Rojo, Sarabia, Ortega, Gordon, Prada, Marquez, Burillo, Gallo, Moriones, Heredia, Bertomai, Menendez and many others. We also have commanders who have come from the people and are indissolubly bound up with them, such as Comrades Carton, Modesto, Lister, and we have "Campesino," Mera, Silverio Castanon, Perez, Toral, Taguena, Duran, Del Barrio, Vivancos, and many others. The list could be continued endlessly. They are all commanders and officers of the regular army now.

An army that possesses such commanders cannot be non-political. Our army has been forged in the struggle against fascism and against the foreign conquerors. Our men and officers are filled with one feeling, a feeling of patriotism towards their country and of hatred towards fascism. And let everybody bear it well in mind that our army is profoundly penetrated with national and revolutionary consciousness, that there is no force capable of diverting it from its path, and that it will fight to the end as manfully and heroically as hitherto, that it will fight until final victory of the people's revolution.

The former disorder in industry has, to a considerable degree, been overcome. The factories are at work. The recent decisions of the U.G.T. (General Workers Union) will help the government to do away with manifestations of anarchy, craft egotism and bureaucratic squandermania, and to raise the enthusiasm in production of the masses of the workers.

Many of the mistakes committed by those who have failed to understand the character of our struggle at the present moment and have wanted to force on the peasants organizational forms of labor, alien to their wishes, have also been corrected.

But, comrades, it must be recognized that the realization of these achievements has taken too much time and this *has happened because there has not been complete unity, because not enough energy has been put into the struggle against the enemies of the people, because there has not been a real policy of the People's Front.*

The enemy has made use of this tardiness to deal us several serious blows; we have lost Malaga, Bilbao, Santander and the Asturias.

I consider it a mistaken opinion to think that the loss of the Northern territory was inevitable because of the isolation of this region from the rest of our republican territory.

No! The North would have been saved had another policy been carried through by everybody and primarily by the Largo Caballero government. There were those who said the same about Madrid—that it was impossible to defend it—but despite this, Madrid is ours, Madrid has been saved.

How are we to explain this historic fact? No miracle took place, but there was energetic action by the masses. Whereas in Madrid all the parties and

organizations mobilized their ranks for the defense of the city, and at numerous meetings roused the energy of the population and rallied them for resistance; in the North, and chiefly in Bilbao and Santander, a ban was placed on the propaganda necessary to explain to the people how tremendous were the sacrifices necessary to defend liberty and the gains of the revolution.

Whereas in Madrid a tremendous amount of political work was carried on among the troops, thereby strengthening the fighting spirit of the militiamen, and transforming their units into a regular army, in the North this necessary work was considered to be "fishing for souls," and as the result the militia units of the political parties and trade union organizations remained separated from one another, without a united command, without discipline.

Whereas there were political commissars in Madrid, men who were teaching the rank and file, who were the closest collaborators of the military commanders and were an example of authority and heroism, in the North this system of commissars was absent.

We are paying dearly for the policy of the Basque government, for the policy of the nationalist leaders which unfortunately was supported by Minister Juan Astigarrabia, member of the Communist Party of the Basque country!

It must be openly admitted that the loss of the Northern country will have serious consequences. The considerable increase in human and material resources will help the enemy to maneuver to a greater degree, and will enable it to concentrate its forces at the decisive points. In addition, if we fail to carry through some successful operations, certain sections of the population may give way to the influence of the demoralizing propaganda of the enemy and its agents.

But despite all this we are unswervingly confident of victory, and this faith is not the fruits of romanticism, but the result of a sober estimate of the entire situation.

We have confidence in the inexhaustible reserve of energy, the revolutionary enthusiasm and heroism of our people. We know our army, we know that it is permeated with the will of victory. We know the resources of our country; if careful use is made of them, they can supply the front with all that is necessary.

We also know the strength of our Party, which is the splendid creation of our people, which is a leader that will never retreat from its duty, and will be able at any moment to rally all its forces so as to point out the correct road, to expose the waverers and the weak-kneed, and ruthlessly to crush traitors.

We know that our class brothers in the struggle—Socialists, Anarchists and Republicans—are filled with the will to fight the enemy to a victorious conclusion. *Unity will lead us to victory!*

OUR INTERNATIONAL POSITION, AND THE TASKS OF THE FORCES OF DEMOCRACY AND PEACE

Two countries where fascism is in power are waging against republican Spain a war that has not even been declared, an open and barbarous war in violation of all the canons of international law, of all the laws of humanity and civilization. How are we to explain this aggression? What do the countries want which are waging war against us? They want to transform Spain into a colony of Italy and Germany; they want to destroy the national independence of Spain. But the Spanish people have matured sufficiently to be able to understand the basic truth of Marxism that national independence is the precondition of all social progress. We have no wish to be and never will be the slaves of European fascism.

The aggression of which we are the victims is directed not only against Spain. All the free and independent peoples of Europe are the objects of this aggression. And the tragedy is that these peoples, deceived or else misled by their governments, have not yet been able thoroughly to understand this truth.

On the very day that the onslaught of

the fascists began against the territory of Spain, there also began the offensive of fascism against France. The positions won in Spain by the German and Italian fascists, who intend to seize the islands of the Mediterranean Sea and to secure control over the Pyrenean border, are required by them so as to attack the French people on their own territory—in their own home.

The fascist barbarians think just as little of officially declaring war on France as on Spain. When the aggressors consider that a suitable moment has arrived for an onslaught on France, Hitler's agents, in the shape of the fascist organizations and their leaders in France itself, will behave just as the traitors Franco, Mola and Queipo de Llano did in Spain; they will open the doors of their fatherland to the foreign conqueror.

How can certain workers' leaders in Prague, Brussels, London and Stockholm fail to understand that should Spain be conquered, should fascism fail to meet in our country the force capable of breaking its backbone, then what awaits all of them on the morrow is the fate of our towns, of our women and children who are massacred on the streets and in the schools by the fascist assassins.

A task of honor has fallen to the lot of our people—that of shedding their blood in the front line trenches of civilization in defense of liberty and world peace.

We recognize this task and are fulfilling it; but at the same time we hope that the peoples of Europe who love their liberty and independence will understand that by helping the Spanish people to win victory over fascism, they are at the same time achieving peace and liberty for their own countries, are defending their own interests.

In the very first days of our struggle, two forces took the side of the Spanish republic—the Soviet Union and the most progressive section of the international proletariat.

As has been correctly stated by Senor Martinez Barrio, Chairman of the Cortez and of the Party of the Republican League, our republic would have already ceased to exist but for the aid of the U.S.S.R.

Only the Soviet Union has openly defended us at all international conferences, against the foul intrigues of the aggressors, and against the blind and criminal weakness of the diplomacy of the bourgeois-democratic countries.

On the day of the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution, our people clearly reflected their thanks and love for the people of the Land of the Soviets, for the great Bolshevik Party and for Comrade Stalin, leader of the peoples. Day in and day out we must explain to the masses that the help of the Soviet Union is to be explained by the fact that power in that country is in the hands of the working class, and that socialism is victorious there.

The help of the most progressive section of the international proletariat has also been considerable, and at certain moments has played a most important role. *Our people will be forever thankful to the Communist International and to its glorious helmsman, the great anti-fascist, Comrade Dimitroff, who has carried on an untiring struggle, and is now engaged in the struggle to secure that all the forces of the international proletariat unite and act jointly in aid of Spain.*

Yet, despite this valuable support, despite the feelings of sympathy for us from the peoples of the whole world, fascism has till now been able to carry through its criminal plans of intervention. Why?

First, because the aggression of fascist Italy and Hitler Germany against the Spanish Republic has to this day been carried through with the support of the Conservative government and reactionary bourgeoisie of Britain, and also of the French fascists and big bourgeoisie of France, who support Franco and wish to see the rebels victorious.

The reactionary bourgeoisie, from

their egoistic class interests, swallow the fascist sophistry that what is going on in Spain is a struggle between fascism and Bolshevism. The blindness of the French and British bourgeoisie prevents them from seeing that what is going on in Spain is a struggle in defense of the principles which were the basic demands and achievements of the bourgeois-democratic revolution—liberty, national independence, international brotherhood, and respect for international law.

The struggle now going on in Spain is part of the world conflict between democracy on the one hand, and, on the other hand, fascism, bent on its destruction. Under the pretext of a struggle against Bolshevism the scoundrels, whose aim is to set the whole world aflame, have joined forces in a military alliance. This it is and nothing else that constitutes the "Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis," and the reactionary bourgeoisie of Great Britain are profoundly mistaken if they imagine that they can prevent a world war by supporting Franco and the fascist aggressors. War cannot be avoided by inciting and supporting those who are preparing and waging it. *The reactionary policy of the British government is not warding off, but on the contrary is speeding up a new world war.* The British Conservatives are not only treading underfoot all the liberal, democratic and peaceful traditions of the British people, but are acting directly contrary to the interests of the British people who are not at all interested in war, who hate war. The British people understand that a future war will seriously menace their well-being, their liberty and their economic and political achievements.

Second, the fascist aggression against Spain has been and is now being favored by the mistaken policy of the governments of the remaining bourgeois-democratic countries and of all the forces of European democracy as a whole. Certain leaders of Social-Democracy imagine that fascism can be restrained by yielding one position after another to it. Many Social-Democratic leaders of Germany and Austria went from capitulation to capitulation and ended their political careers in fascist concentration camps, while the workers disarmed by them are groaning under the yoke of fascist dictatorship. By capitulating again and again to fascism, the reactionary leaders of the democratic and Socialist Parties of France, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia and other countries are creating the danger of the whole of Europe being hurled into the abyss of a world war. Can the democratic leaders of France really fail to see that fascism is seeking to lay its hands on the achievements of the French Revolution, the traditions of which are alive among the French workers and peasants? Can they really not understand that the immediate task of the fascist scoundrels is the destruction of the independence of France?

The policy of the French government has from the very beginning of the intervention in Spain been a policy of blindness and of practical support for the fascist miscreants. *But I believe that the time has already come when the French people will assert their will to peace by putting an end to the vacillations of their leaders.*

Third, the active assistance of the international proletariat has failed to be of a sufficiently wide and energetic character because of the absence of unity in the international labor movement.

We know that the Labor and Socialist International has adopted a whole number of resolutions regarding aid for Spain, but we also know that the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions have not rendered us any considerable practical aid.

Socialist volunteers, rank and filers and commanders are fighting in the International Brigades, shoulder to shoulder with Communists and Republicans. But we also know that there are governments led by Socialists which are operating a policy in relation to Spain absolutely distinct from that which is contained in the resolutions of the Labor and Socialist International. We have become convinced that the decisions adopted at the

conference of representatives of the two Internationals in Annemasse, decisions which were greeted by the Spanish people as the beginning of united and resolute action by all the organizations of the international proletariat, have not been accompanied by deeds, as we all hoped; and the blame for this lies not with the Communist International, but with certain leaders of Social-Democracy, particularly British leaders who have resisted, and gone so far as to threaten a split in the Labor and Socialist International if it should take the step of acting jointly with the Comintern in *defense of Spain.*

We also know, and we wish to declare this openly, that among the leaders of international Social-Democracy, there are those who have not yet understood that it is only thanks to united action of the working class and the People's Front that the Spanish people have been able to withstand the onslaught of fascism. It is unfortunate that when these leaders come to Spain, instead of doing everything possible to help to strengthen unity, they sometimes work against it.

One cannot limit oneself merely to the organization of solidarity meetings; mass activity must be carried through around concrete points to prevent primarily the transport of arms, ammuniiton and all other materials in aid of Franco, and thereby to isolate and boycott the aggressors against Spain. Working class organizations, particularly the organizations of the workers engaged in water and land transport, can play a decisive role in this sphere, and it is to them that we address our appeal to act, and to act rapidly and resolutely.

In the situation where support is openly being rendered to fascism by the reactionary bourgeoisie of the capitalist countries, where the democratic forces and part of the leaders of Social-Democracy are capitulating and wavering, various kinds of proposals are arising, and secret maneuvers are being carried through to achieve a compromise with the rebel generals and with the fascist forces of intervention. Negotiations are being carried on regarding the restoration of the monarchy, while some people have even gone so far as to prepare some kinglet ready to play the role of "emperor" after the fashion of the one who has been placed by the Japanese militarists on the throne of Manchuria, a country which has been transformed into a Japanese colony.

The activity of the so-called Non-Intervention Committee and the proposals it makes only serve to cover up such maneuvers.

We must be on our guard. Our Party has the duty of exposing these maneuvers by openly stating our position which is the position of the entire Spanish people.

There can be no peace as long as even one foreign soldier remains on the territory of our native land.

There can be no peace until all our enemies and all those who wish to establish a fascist regime in Spain have been finally crushed.

No compromise is possible with either the generals who have betrayed their country, or with the foreign conquerors.

Our slogan is: Drive out the interventionists, wipe out Franco, destroy fascism in our country once and for all!

The Spanish people have no wish to return to their accursed past, to the oppression, poverty and shame to which an end has been put once and for all in Republican Spain. Our peasants have no desire to become slaves again and starve, so as to pay rent to noblemen and idlers. Our workers will never again work under a regime of slavery and absolutism. *Our people already know the value of liberty, and will never yield it up.*

By indignantly brushing aside every attempt to compromise with the enemy, who must be crushed, we know that we are serving the cause of all peoples, the cause of progress and peace. A compromise with fascism in Spain would be a victory for fascism throughout Europe.

We feel sufficiently strong to be able to fight until the enemy is completely wiped out. We are also profoundly convinced that our unswerving decision to

continue the struggle till victory is ours will lead to the mobilization of new forces in our aid on the international arena. We have not yet lost hope of being able to rouse the forces of democracy throughout the world. We are confident that the working class will achieve united action in our aid.

The minimum platform on which all working class forces, the Socialist and Communist Internationals, all the trade unions, all the forces of democracy and peace can unite is the following: *All aid whatsoever to Franco to be prevented; an end to be put to the armed fascist intervention in Spain; the Spanish republic to have all its international rights returned; a struggle to be carried on for the upholding of international law.* The Spanish people, with whom the entire progressive world is solid, will be able to settle accounts once and for all with the generals who have betrayed their country.

THE SITUATION INSIDE THE COUNTRY: ON THE TERRITORY SEIZED BY THE INTERVENTIONISTS, AND IN REPUBLICAN SPAIN

Spain is now divided into two zones, each of which has its own particular state system.

What system is there in the fascist zone? There we see the continuation of the regime of oppression, tyranny and crime that existed prior to February 16, prior to the declaration of the Republic. The semi-feudal castes, the Church, the militarists, the big capitalists, have not only restored their age-old privileges, but have even extended them. This part of Spain has been taken back to the very darkest days of the Inquisition and despotism. The state which Franco wishes to establish has been conceived after the fashion of the German and Italian fascist regimes, *i.e.*, based on the most fiendish terror.

The Church has restored the domination which it enjoyed in Spain as far back as the epoch of Philip II. Failure to attend church is treated as a crime, to be punished by death.

The military caste form another such power, with their own jurisdiction, and with the right to deal with the lives and property of people according to their own judgment.

We have data regarding terror in the zone controlled by the rebels, data made up of letters from workers living there, the testimony of fugitives, and the information of the foreign press. Recently a book has appeared entitled *Doy Fe* (*I Bear Witness*). The author of this book is the secretary of the court in Burgos, an orthodox Catholic who cannot on any account be suspected of sympathy for Communism. He speaks of the horrible crimes committed by gendarmes and fascists, who murder workers and anti-fascists without trial on the mere suspicion of not being fascists.

Only the Phalangists have the right to publish newspapers. Nobody dares express even the faintest dissatisfaction.

Workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, traders, small handicraft workers, intellectuals, all sections of the working people, are groaning under the oppression of the fascist terror.

The territory under the rule of Franco has been handed over to the conquerors to be transformed into a foreign colony.

How is the part of Spain seized by the rebels being administered? Franco issues orders; the Church, the army, and the gendarmes oppress and murder the people; the landowners and big capitalists exploit the workers and peasants. The supreme ruler of this machine, however, cannot make a single important decision without asking the opinion of the foreign dictators, Hitler and Mussolini, who share power with Franco, and in some localities have their own governors. Until recently Count Rossi was absolute civil and military governor of Majorca, responsible only to Mussolini. The German ambassador in Salamanca enjoys unlimited power. He plans military operations together with the German General Staff. The enormous riches of the country have been handed over completely to foreigners. Germans are exploiting the iron mines in Morocco

and Biscay. The Italians in their turn have control of the coal mines of the Asturias and the olive plantations of Andalusia. *Thus the part of Spain in the hands of the rebels has been transformed into a semi-colonial country.*

Despite the terror they have let loose, the rebels and interventionists are coming up against great difficulties. The oppressed and enslaved masses of the people are offering up resistance to the Franco regime as far as their power permits: the measures of the government of the so-called Burgos Junta are sabotaged in the factories. Many people know that fascist bombs frequently do not explode on the railroads and on the land. This is the work of our brothers, the workers who have remained in the zone controlled by the rebels. In that territory bridges are blown up, railway collisions take place and powder magazines explode. All this is being done by workers and peasants who frequently pay with their lives for this.

In the political sphere the antagonism between the "Spanish Phalanx" and the Traditionalists has begun to assume a sanguinary character. Gangs of the two sides shoot one another in Pamplona, Zaragosa and even at the fronts. Contradictions, the inevitable contradictions of imperialism, also arise between the foreign fascist conquerors; true the Germans and Italians have united to seize Spain, but each of these strives by stealth to steal a little more than the other.

Under such a system, full of contradictions and antagonisms, it is impossible to build up a firm and stable state; impossible to set going the civil life of a civilized country; impossible to achieve either the well-being of the working people or the development of the forces of progress. Were Spain to be doomed to this regime, it would be transformed into a ruined and poverty-stricken country, and would gradually sink into barbarism.

No Spaniard who really loves his country, who desires to see it independent and prosperous, can remain indifferent to the prospect of destruction and barbarism which fascism is preparing for our country. In the zone occupied by the rebels there are thousands of honest Spaniards who see and feel all the horror of this situation. They must help us with all the energy and means in their power to establish in Spain a regime of liberty, democracy, well-being, progress and peace, such as is desired by the whole of the Spanish people.

If the forces of intervention are to be driven out it requires the alliance of all Spaniards who hold the independence of their country dear, it requires a struggle by the whole people for national independence.

The free and happy Spain for which we are fighting must remain the country of all honest Spaniards, of all those who have not betrayed it and have not sold it to foreign fascism; of all those who are now working and fighting on the side of the republic; of all those who are living in the fascist purgatory.

Let us now look at our own system.

For the first time in their history the Spanish people have organized a most stable and really democratic system on the territory belonging to the Republic. What is the essence of Spanish democracy? Here there have been destroyed the old caste privileges, the old political cliques, the feudal apparatus, the domination of the Church over political life, the power of the Caciques* and the bloody tyranny of the gendarmes. We are fighting for the destruction of all the roots of fascism in the political and economic life of the country.

There are no longer in republican Spain any of the hated senors who enjoy hereditary rights to power and to the exploitation of the working people. The factories and plants, the land and the banks are in the hands of the workers and peasants, in the hands of the government of the People's Front. The armed forces of the republic do not serve a privileged caste, they serve the people.

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* Caciques—rich, influential people—*The Ed.*

The republic has opened up a new culture, a new horizon with wide prospects before the whole of our people who are thirsting for knowledge.

Our democracy, our new type of parliamentary republic, is based on the active participation of the masses in the political life of the country. You all remember the anti-fascist women's conference that recently took place. Could one have dreamed of such a conference in our country formerly? The fact that women have been drawn into political life is a characteristic sign of the political awakening of the masses.

A wide development of mass organizations can be observed. How are we to explain this tremendous growth of all these organizations? It is of course no accident. It is to be explained by the fact that wide masses of workers and anti-fascists now feel the need to participate in the political life of the country. They join organizations, full of the desire to prepare themselves for leadership in the economic and political life of the country and to help the People's Front government.

And what, in the meantime, has happened to the old bourgeois parties? What has happened to the conservative or so-called liberal parties which represented the interests of the big capitalists, landowners and the Church? Nothing has remained of them. They have all suffered shipwreck under the pressure of the political awakening of the masses.

Their place has been taken by the most numerous and extensive political organization that the Spanish people have ever possessed—the People's Front. In the People's Front there are united, in the corresponding parties and organizations, all sections of the population, including workers and peasants, the democratic and revolutionary petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals, all the liberal and democratic elements in the country. They have joined forces with the single desire to transform into life the desires of the people for which they have fought for centuries, achieving victory and suffering temporary defeats.

Our People's Front has inherited from Spanish history the hopes of the liberals and progressives who fought in the Cadiz parliament for the liberation of the people from the oppression of absolutism and the Inquisition; the strivings of the founders of the first republic; the hopes of the people who fought against the bloody tyranny of Ferdinand VII, Canovas, against the monarchist, clerical and militaristic reactionaries; the strivings of the progressive elements in Spain for national independence, which filled the masses with enthusiasm for the war against Napoleon; the hopes of the workers who fought with arms in hand during the tragic week in Barcelona in 1917; in the Asturias and Madrid, during the glorious days of 1934, and in the thousands of other heroic actions, the national strivings of the peoples of Catalonia, Biscay and Galicia who were enslaved by the monarchist despotism.

Our People's Front embraces all these hopes of the people; it is for these that our fathers and mothers fought, and we Spaniards of today are uniting under a single banner in order to fulfil the best hopes of our forefathers.

For the first time all the progressive political forces of the people are united around a common program which embraces all sections of the working people. *Our People's Front is an organization of struggle against fascism, against the traditional oppressors and against the forces of intervention.* The People's Front is no simple coalition of parties, or a bloc of a handful of leaders. *The People's Front unites all anti-fascist forces. Never before has the idea of an anti-fascist alliance on the basis of the People's Front extended over a greater field.*

The fact that the masses have been aroused politically and that they are taking an active part in the political life of the country has conditioned the colossal growth of our country.

Why has our Party grown to such a tremendous degree and why has it today in its ranks hundreds of thousands of the best fighters? Because the masses

have seen in the Communist Party a consistent political leading force, a reliable leader of the people in winning a regime of liberty and justice.

Our Party continues the best traditions of the Spanish people, of the old and heroic struggle of the workers and peasants against their oppressors. Our unity with the Socialist Party has already created the necessary conditions for it to be possible to set about merging the two parties into a single party of the proletariat and laboring peasants.

A single party will serve to cement the People's Front, since it will provide the alliance of all anti-fascist forces in the People's Front with the might of the political unity of the proletariat.

With a united party as its basis, the People's Front will be able to develop more and more and will draw thousands of workers and peasants, who as yet stand aside, into the anti-fascist organizations, and will make their collaboration with the government increasingly effective.

The task of drawing the wide masses of non-party and unorganized masses to an increasing degree into active political life is one that faces *all the anti-fascist organizations of the People's Front.* It is precisely the People's Front that must mobilize all the anti-fascist sections of the population to take an active part in the political life of the country.

This mobilization and democratic activity of the wide masses must also find their reflection in the representative bodies, both in the provincial and local councils, as well as in Parliament.

The present parliament (Cortez) was elected at a period when a government of reaction was in power. Despite the oppression of reaction, the masses elected an anti-fascist majority. But profound changes have taken place in the life of the country since the advent of the People's Front government to power. Tremendous masses who by reason of the arbitrary behavior of the authorities were compelled to stand apart from the political life of the country are playing a more active part in it now, and are defending liberty and democracy with arms in their hands. Can it be said that these changes are exactly reflected in the present parliament? *No. The present parliament no longer gives a full reflection of all the changes that have taken place in the class relations of the country.* What is more, some of the deputies of the Cortez have taken the side of the enemy, while many others have fallen at the hands of the fascist assassins. And finally if we take account of the fairy tales spread by the fascist and the entire reactionary press to the effect that our people are under the rule of a Communist dictatorship, that the "Red dictators" prevent the people giving free expression to their will, then we answer that the democratic expression of the will of the people, organized under the banner of the People's Front, would prove the truth to the entire world; it would prove that at the very moment when the bourgeois-democratic powers are tolerating the aggression of German and Italian fascism against the Spanish people, the overwhelming majority of the latter support the People's Front government, are for democracy, and against fascism.

A referendum, a real popular plebiscite must be organized. Such a democratic, popular referendum would still further mobilize the masses for the struggle against fascism, would still further raise the enthusiasm of the people, would still further increase and strengthen the authority of the People's Front government, and would create the conditions for a most rapid and victorious end to the war.

No single party, no single anti-fascist organization can or should fear the expression of the will of the people at the ballot box, should fear the wider political activity of the masses.

But who does fear this? Individualist politicians and groups that give unreserved obedience to them, those who take joy at any unfavorable development of the war, and wish to utilize it as a weapon against the government and against the People's Front; those who

defend the P.O.U.M. spies and traitors. Only these people can fear a popular referendum. Why? Because they would be turned down by the overwhelming majority of the people; because a national referendum would prove that these elements are not rooted at all among the masses of the people.

On the contrary, the government would draw new, added strength, out of its contact with the masses, for the conduct of the war until victory.

A national referendum will not call forth any political disagreements between the rear and the fronts, because the men on the firing line, and everybody should bear this well in mind, must also participate in the voting. All young people who have reached the age of eighteen must have the right to vote; they have fully deserved this by their participation in the struggle against fascism.

All the anti-fascist forces will see in the electoral campaign a means for still further strengthening the fighting front against fascism and the usurpers.

This extensive and tremendous political mobilization of the masses of the people will undoubtedly call forth a response in the rebel camp as well. The masses oppressed by fascism will see the difference between the regime which brings them hunger, slavery, and death, and the democratic system wherein the masses play an active part in creating the organs of power. They will see the difference between our democratic and parliamentary Spain, and the starving Spain enslaved by Franco. Thus by strengthening our democracy we shall deal a painful blow at the enemy.

After the present plenum of the Central Committee, our Party will raise the question of an electoral campaign before the other anti-fascist parties and organizations. I am convinced that a popular referendum will be a mighty weapon in achieving victory over the enemy.

HOW TO OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES AND TO WIN VICTORY

The serious difficulties we are now experiencing in the struggle against fascism must be overcome. We must cope with the tasks that have been set, with the same self-sacrifice and determination which have been displayed by our people in all the difficult moments of the war.

The most urgent demand of the present moment is to *strengthen our army.*

How are the main weaknesses of the people's army expressed?

They are expressed in the fact that on certain fronts it has not yet become a real regular army; that it has not adequately mastered the military art; that it has not yet been thoroughly purged of traitors and cowards. Such are the chief defects in the army which we must immediately correct, for the sooner they are corrected the more will the fighting power of the army increase, and the quicker will we arrive at victory.

How must these defects be corrected?

Reserves. The army must be provided with numerous reserves. Our people constitute a tremendous reserve of anti-fascist forces. Thousands of young people who are capable of bearing arms are eager to get to the front in order to fight fascism; they want to defend the national independence of Spain at the front, in battle. These young people must be formed into battalions and brigades which will serve as inexhaustible reserves for our army, and prevent the repetition of cases where our troops at the front cannot successfully continue their operations because of the absence of reserves.

But if these reserves are to be successfully utilized on the front line, they must master their weapons to perfection, they must know the military art. Our army must be a fighting and mobile army throughout.

Fortifications. Every army which fights the enemy must possess a complete system of fortifications and shelters. But in the present situation, when the war has developed with unparalleled intensity, the need for fortifications is yet more urgent. Stronger fortifications must be built. The enemy now possesses greater fighting resources than in the

first months of the war and even greater than in the days when they came close to Madrid.

The construction of fortifications and shelters must become a military obligation of the entire population. They must be built not only by army men, by military units; they must be built by all anti-fascists regardless of whether they belong to special sapper battalions or not. Madrid has shown that splendid results are produced by a general mobilization of the population for the construction of fortifications, by voluntary participation in defense work. In the present situation, however, fortifications cannot be built as they were built in 1936, as they were built in Madrid in the November days. Now they must be built only under the technical guidance and control of the government. The government itself is seeing to this, but in order to facilitate the government's task, to collaborate with it, all able-bodied males must place themselves at its disposal to be used as required.

The need to improve the technical knowledge of our commanders and the rank and file. The technical strength of our army must be raised. What does this mean? It means that technical training must not be limited to our commanders. War is now waged with the aid of such technical means which require that every soldier is sufficiently trained so as to be able to fight successfully either on the defensive or the offensive. The German and Italian fascists have hurled against the Spanish people their best fighting resources; they are testing them in this war. This demands that our men possess the requisite technical training.

It goes without saying that officers must receive a more rapid and fuller training. The majority of the officers in our army come from the ranks of the working class and the anti-fascists; before the war these commanders had no military training whatsoever; during the period of the war they have succeeded in acquiring the most elementary knowledge, many of them having acquired this knowledge directly in the trenches. It is now necessary that they receive technical training as rapidly as possible. When they receive military and technical knowledge they will become real leaders of a great army, such as they already are, to judge by their fearlessness and heroism.

The experience of the war has proved to us that given good training and good commanders our men are superior to the soldiers of the enemy. We must support this superiority and extend it so as to achieve victory.

The Purge. We must thoroughly purge the ranks of our army's commanding staff. Quite a lot has already been done in this regard. In our army it has become a rarer thing now than in the first months of the war to come across traitorous officers; it is now a rarer thing for us to meet with acts of sabotage, such as, for instance, arms being sent to one place and bullets sent to another, or the work of the supply department being sabotaged. *The present situation, however, demands that a purge be carried through of such a strict character as will render it possible to expose all enemies who have hidden themselves away, all spies or enemy agents however cunningly they may have disguised themselves.* It is no secret to you that the enemy is exerting every effort to introduce its agents into our army, making use of the recent calling up of recruits for this purpose. The enemy has proved to us that it is possessed of cunning in the sphere of espionage and provocation.

We must be on our guard. Vigilance, vigilance and again vigilance! We must know all about the lives and activities, day or night, of individuals employed in the military departments, munition works, and at all points connected with the army, and when we discover a fascist agent, an open or disguised enemy, we must ruthlessly destroy him.

The work of the commissars. An urgent task facing our army is further to strengthen the work of the commissars. The commissars are the political soul of our army, are people who stimu-

late it by their heroism, who maintain its ideological consciousness, who raise its confidence in victory, and who, together with the military command, lead it to victory. The role of the commissars must not be underestimated in an army such as ours. But if the *work of our commissars is to be fruitful, certain bureaucratic methods must be liquidated which sometimes hinder them in successfully carrying through their political and military work.*

An end must be put to the kid-glove commissar, who has never been at the front, who does not mingle with the men. But the commissars as a whole must not be judged by this type of kid-glove individual. Our army cannot give up the system of commissars; the commissars have shed enough of their blood, shoulder to shoulder with our commanders and men. They have been and will continue to be one of the basic factors of the victory of our people's army.

We must not yield a single inch of our territory to the enemy. Let us gather together and prepare a tremendous number of new forces; let us prepare them for decisive battles—such are the slogans under which our army must successfully cope with the difficulties of the present situation.

Problems of the war industry. We already have a war industry. But can it satisfy the needs of the present moment? No. It was established after great delay, and the work is proceeding with insufficient speed and energy. The entire people are now convinced that we are in urgent need of a powerful defense industry; this is demanded by our men at the front, by the workers, by all who desire the conditions for victory to be speedily established. Why, then, are measures not being taken to establish it, and to extend it to the necessary degree? Because there is still a certain tardiness in solving military problems.

The question of the establishment of a defense industry no longer brooks any delay. The solution of this problem must be made from the very beginning. First of all the question of the nationalization of the main branches of industry must be solved. The workers and trade unions are ready to give every assistance to the government in establishing and developing the defense industry.

But if our war industry is to be developed sufficiently to correspond with the needs of our army, we must nationalize the main branches of industry.

And parallel with this measure there must be carried through the militarization of the personnel of our war enterprises and transport. All workers engaged on such work must be on war service, and, of course, must be under the control of the Ministry of Defense. These measures do not at all contradict the democratic character of our system.

The same sort of exalted spirit must prevail in the war industry as in the army; the workers must be convinced that in producing arms and munitions they are carrying on the fight just as our men are doing at the fronts, that they must work with the same heroism and with the same self-sacrifice as our men are doing in the trenches. I know that this is exactly how the majority of the workers are working.

In order to raise the enthusiasm of the masses in production, a ruthless struggle must be carried on against red tape and for the purging of the staffs of the Ministries. All open and secret enemies must be driven out of these institutions.

If the war industry that has been established is to be correctly led and directed it must be subjected to the guidance and control of a special Ministry. The functions of such a body will be very wide. I therefore point to the need for establishing a Ministry of the Defense Industry.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE IN THE REAR

We must begin a ruthless struggle against the enemies of the people in our rear. They are more dangerous than our open enemies, the fascists who are in the trenches opposite us, with whom our men and our artillery deal. But hidden

enemies, provocateurs and spies stab us in the back in the dark.

The most furious enemies of the people in the rear are the Trotskyites, the direct agents of Franco. What constitutes the work of the Trotskyites in our rear? It consists of undermining the anti-fascist alliance, demoralizing the workers, and carrying on espionage and disruptive work.

Who are the Trotskyites who have been exposed recently in Barcelona? They are, according to the official testimony in the press of the chief of the police of that town, a gang of bandits. This new exposure of the Trotskyite gang has shown the extent of the espionage work and foul treachery of the Trotskyites.

No mercy must be shown to such criminals. They must be wiped out as mercilessly as the fascists.

The government has already adopted certain measures for the struggle against the Trotskyites, such as the arrest of the P.O.U.M. leaders, the handing over of many of them to the courts on the charge of espionage and treason. These are positive facts in defense of our cause. But the government, the Ministry of Home Affairs and particularly the Ministry of Justice must display still greater energy. Are still further proofs required before these bandits are tried? What honest anti-fascists can demand more evidence than when a spy is caught with letters in cipher, and military documents? No more proofs are necessary. We all must regard the P.O.U.M. as a secret organization in the service of Franco. It is our duty to uncover it. Raids by the police have proved that the Phalangists and P.O.U.M.ists work hand in hand, engaging in espionage. Well, then, since they work together they must be destroyed together.

The tribunals do not punish the enemies of the people with the severity required by the legal code against traitors. Condemned spies and provocateurs are quickly released and so they still further increase their wrecking work.

An end must be put to this!

The people demand that traitors and terrorists, profiteers and usurers be ruthlessly wiped out. We have already paid dearly for our feeble policy towards enemies who are behind our lines.

All and everything for the war!

This is the slogan under which we must mobilize the masses of the people, all the resources and all the energy of the country.

THE UNIFICATION OF THE PEOPLE IN THE PEOPLE'S FRONT IS THE SURE GUARANTEE OF FINAL VICTORY

The surest guarantee of our final victory is the unification of all the anti-fascist forces of the people. After the fall of the Largo Caballero government, a tendency began to manifest itself of the establishment of an opposition bloc to the People's Front government. The core of this bloc was the bankrupt Largo Caballero group, which had fallen under the influence of Trotskyism, and which, on the one hand, linked up with counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, and, on the other hand, exerted its efforts to win the C.N.T. (National Confederation of Labor) to a policy hostile to the government. Our Anarchist comrades saw in the tendency of the Largo Caballero group a policy directly contrary to the interests of the anti-fascist cause. We consider that the time has come for our Anarchist comrades to break once and for all with this group which has attempted to draw them into action against the government.

What is the Largo Caballero group now?

It is a center of attraction for all dissatisfied and fainthearted people, for all who have lost faith in victory, for all who do not believe in the people. These individuals have never believed in the strength of the people, or in the possibility of the people achieving victory. Furious because they had to leave the government, and irritated at their own failures, they are now attacking the government. They want to split the anti-fascist forces, to dishearten the masses who are enthusiastically carrying on the

single command; they were against handing industry over to the government or its subordination to state control.

Their line on these questions has now changed. The Anarchists are now in the ranks of the regular army, and subordinate themselves to the command and the military organs. They recognize the need for a single command; many of the branches of the C.N.T. have declared themselves in favor of industry being nationalized and of the government undertaking the administration of the war industry. What is the meaning of all these facts, which indicate a most profound evolution of Spanish Anarchism? *They mean that the Anarchist-minded masses of the C.N.T. have joined the political bloc in the struggle against fascism, have joined the fraternity of forces which is to strengthen and develop the popular revolution.*

The positive character of this evolution of the Anarchists gives us grounds now for raising the practical problem of the C.N.T. once and for all joining the People's Front and of an increasingly close collaboration between the U.G.T. and the C.N.T. to the point of the conclusion of a pact between these two organizations.

We Communists are ready to collaborate with the Anarchists in all spheres of our activity. All that we ask of them is that they break off relations with the enemies of unity, that they adopt a clear position towards the splitters. We also ask them to introduce a stricter check-up in their ranks. There are still Anarchist leaders who have not entirely given up the old tactics, and who count on achieving something or other by their former methods.

Our line will continue to be a line of the closest collaboration with the Anarchists in the army and in the economic bodies.

While strengthening the unity of the people in the ranks of the People's Front, we must at the same time still further strengthen the unity of all the people of Spain in the struggle for national liberation. The more we respect the rights and liberties of Catalonia, the more we give a positive solution to its problems, the closer will the collaboration between Catalonia and Spain become, and both our peoples will work and fight together to win the war.

The youth have shown us a splendid example of unity. It is with sincere satisfaction that I greet the establishment of the anti-fascist youth alliance. *I also greet the United Socialist Youth who have been the initiators and most consistent champions of the unity of all the youth in Spain. I also greet the National Committee of the United Socialist Youth, the leaders of the youth who have shown a splendid example of unity and have been at the front from the very outset.* Thus the youth occupy their place in the front line of fire.

Thousands of young people have fallen on the battlefields, and many thousands more have taken their places in the trenches. The whole of the war is an example of the heroism of our youth. We can be sure that the young Spaniards of various political tendencies who are fighting with arms in their hands will not retreat an inch before the enemy.

The unity of all anti-fascist forces, of all popular forces for the winning of victory, for the strengthening and development of the people's revolution—such, I assert here once again, is the central idea of our revolutionary policy. The alliance of the whole of the Spanish people is the surest guarantee of victory.

THE PARTY

I would like to devote the entire section of my report about the Party, at this Plenum of the Central Committee, to our defects and to the methods of improving our work.

There is no need here to explain the elementary truth that the solution of the tasks facing the whole of our people in the present serious situation is impossible without systematic and stubborn work by our Party. One must only stress the point that the present situation demands of our Party, of all its organs, of our Central Committee and Secretariat

down to the smallest local group, that all its members without exception exert to the maximum degree all their strength, their creative energy, their entire will to resistance and to the struggle. It will not be a bad thing if our Central Committee at this Plenum subjects the work of the Party to a critical analysis with a view to bringing out the errors, weaknesses, incorrect tendencies and views, and indicates the way to overcome them. Self-criticism is an essential weapon for the further successful development of the Communist Party.

We are now working in a new situation, which differs from the previous situation, and particularly from the one that existed during the first months of the struggle against fascism. The distinguishing features of this new situation must be understood. Many of our comrades, many of our organizations have not yet thoroughly understood this.

Certain dangers which menace our Party arise out of its very growth. Comrade Stalin, the great and wise leader of the world proletariat, has repeatedly directed the attention of the Communists to the dangers that are connected with successes.

"But successes," says Stalin, "like everything else under the sun, have their seamy sides. Among people who are not very skilled in politics, big successes and big achievements not infrequently give rise to carelessness, complacency, self-satisfaction, overweening self-confidence, swell-headedness and bragging."*

While it is true that there can be no doubt that the successes we have achieved and which cannot be by far compared with the enormous achievements in socialist construction made by the great Bolshevik Party in the U.S.S.R., it seems to me that these words of Stalin can be of actual significance for our Party as well. *There is a danger in our Party, also, that the successes and growth of the Party may turn the heads of certain of our comrades who are little experienced in politics.*

This danger manifested itself quite clearly particularly after the fall of Largo Caballero government, a fall in which our Party, as you all know, really played a primary role. Some comrades at that time got the wrong impression that our Party could become the only political factor in the present situation. But this would mean coming into conflict with our basic political line which is a line for a firm alliance with the Socialist Party, for close collaboration with it to the point of complete amalgamation, a line for extending and strengthening the People's Front.

Others of our comrades, under the influence of criticism from outside, and of unjust attacks on our Party, began to give expression to the mistaken views that the Communist Party must inevitably, at the present stage of the revolution, come into conflict with all the other political forces of our country. Such views are incorrect because they leave out of account the fact that the role of our Party is the exact opposite, that of *helping to unify all the anti-fascist forces.*

It is possible that certain Communist journalists, under the influence of these false theories, have occasionally forgotten the moderation with which discussion and polemics should now be carried through in the press, if they are not directed against enemies of the people and their agents, against the enemies of unity and against the People's Front.

I wish to direct the attention of all comrades to the possibility of the appearance in our Party, in the present serious and complicated situation, of a certain impatience which may prove a menace to the unity of the working class movement and the development of the People's Front. Nobody should forget that neither a Soviet system nor the dictatorship of the proletariat exists in our country, and that our Party does not and cannot hold the entire power in its hands.

The present government is a govern-

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* Joseph Stalin, *Mastering Bolshevism*, p. 22, Workers Library Publishers, N. Y.

ment in which all the parties of the People's Front are represented. It is clear that its decisions cannot always correspond entirely to the position of our Party, but we can assert that there has not been a single decision of the government till now which has hindered our Party in exerting all its energy towards strengthening the army, towards developing a powerful war industry, and, particularly, towards strengthening the anti-fascist united People's Front. *Our Party is headed by a Central Committee and a Political Bureau which have given quite a number of proofs that they are jealously guarding the interests of the people, and in whom all its members must have complete faith.*

To overcome the existing errors, vacillations and false tendencies it is essential that all our Party members should always understand that the *policy of the Communist Party of Spain is, and must be, the firm and consistent policy of the People's Front.* This must never be forgotten.

What does this mean from the point of view of the practical work of our Party? In the main it means that:

First, the Party must always be in closest contact with the masses; it must be the most energetic defender of their interests and of the common interests of onr people in their struggle against fascism and the foreign conquerors.

Second, the Party must do nothing to prevent the unity of all the anti-fascist forces; it must be the first champion of the increasingly firm unity of these forces.

As regards the first point, I think we must carry on a ruthless struggle against all manifestations of bureaucracy in our rank. Communists who occupy responsible posts in the state machine, who occupy high posts in the army, etc., must preserve the modesty of revolutionary fighters and maintain direct contact with the masses of the people, for this is one of the basic qualities of a Communist. Only if Communists behave thus can we avoid the danger of certain sections of our Party degenerating to opportunism.

The strengthening of our contacts with the masses is also necessary in order to strengthen our work in the trade unions. The strengthening of our contacts with the masses presupposes more energetic work among the non-Party masses, among women. It is a task of supreme importance for us to seek out new forms for organizing the masses, and of applying them to each section of the population, corresponding to the given concrete situation.

As regards the second point, I think that it is necessary in this regard also to recommend that our comrades display greater modesty; this in its turn will enable them to play a more effective role together with the Socialists, Republicans, Anarchists, etc. *While waging a struggle for unity, we continue to grow and strengthen our ranks.*

Our Party membership has increased more rapidly than we anticipated. Hence, many of the positions won by us are not yet firmly consolidated. There is an element of spontaneity in the growth of our Party membership, and much, very much, work needs to be done if we are to consolidate our ranks. We must not forget that the situation in which the Spanish revolution is developing, and the struggle is being waged for national independence, is an exceedingly complicated one. There are, unfortunately, many comrades yet in our ranks of whom it could be said that they are unable to find their bearings independently in a complicated situation, in the rapid changes with which we may meet in the near future.

Therefore, the work of training our Party personnel politically and ideologically must be speeded up and strengthened in all directions. This means that we must organize Party schools not only on a national scale, but also in each local organization. It means that we must open the doors wide throughout the Party for the promotion of new forces to leading positions. *We wish to put an end once and for all to the situation where the leading work in many organizations is concentrated in the hands of a small handful of comrades.*

We must promote young people who have not yet been in leading work, but who are capable of working and leading, because they are closely connected with the masses in the factories and trade unions.

Greater boldness must be displayed in promoting new forces to leading posts.

A splendid example to our Party organizations has been shown by the leaders of the United Socialist Youth, who have created a new leadership out of capable young workers who have been newly promoted, and who will grow into real mass leaders.

The National Committee of the United Socialist Youth has shown an example of discipline to the whole of our people by setting off for the front. And from this rostrum I convey the heartiest greetings to them from the Central Committee of our Party.

The last question to which I wish to draw your attention and the attention of the entire Party is the question of revolutionary vigilance. *We are faced not only with the danger that Trotskyite elements and other enemies of the people may penetrate our ranks; there is also the danger of the penetration into the minds of young or unstable comrades of ideas that are alien to us.* Certain enemies of the people consider that it is easier for them, with a membership card in their possession, to cover up their activity for continuing their criminal, disorganizing and demoralizing work, and even provocative and espionage work. Our Party must display the greatest vigilance and clear its ranks of such spies, by collaborating with all the other anti-fascist organizations in solving the very important common task of waging a struggle against provocation.

A Party membership card is not always sufficient proof that its owner is worthy of being completely trusted. We must work with the masses, maintain contact with them, and, in addition, our Party leaders must keep a strict check particularly on people occupying responsible posts in the state machine, in the army and the trade unions. Such a check presumes that we pay careful attention to, and make a study of, every individual Party member, so that we may know both his past and present life and work.

Comrades, we shall only succeed in bringing about the tremendous exertion of our forces, demanded by the present situation, if we maintain unity, solidarity and discipline in our ranks. The unity of our Party is our greatest achievement, one which has enabled us, and will continue to enable us, to solve the most difficult tasks, rapidly to react to all events and to take account of the changes in the situation. Were we to be without this unity, it would play into the hands of fascism.

But the unity of the Communist Party will never be broken, because the elements which bind it together are not only discipline and the ideological training of our Party members, but also the profound conviction held by all our Party members that our Party line is correct, that it fully corresponds to the present situation, and is a true reflection of the aims and interests of the working class and people of Spain. The correctness and firmness of this political line, under the guidance of the Communist International, are combined with the firmness and confidence of the Central Committee of our Party, which has been able in the most difficult moments to fulfil the tasks confronting it, leading the entire Party along the correct road and, together with our Socialist brothers, pointing the way to victory to the whole of the working class and people of Spain.

Comrades, members of the Central Committee. I have dealt with questions which, in my opinion, are the most fundamental in the present situation. I place them before you for discussion, confident that your decisions on these problems will light the way for the whole of our Party and people in their irreconcilable struggle against fascism.

Long live the unity of our Party!

Long live the united party of the proletariat!

Long live the People's Front!

Long live the army of victory!

The International Solidarity Movement in Aid of China

BY TIM RYAN

THE monstrous invasion of China by Japanese aggressors, like the intervention in Spain by the fascist hordes of Mussolini and Hitler, is arousing the greatest indignation of the whole of the international proletariat and progressive humanity, and is also giving rise to a mighty worldwide solidarity movement in support of the valiant 400,000,000 Chinese people who with arms in their hands are defending their national independence against the Japanese invaders.

International solidarity with the heroic people of China is growing day by day. The progressive elements in all countries know that the Chinese masses, like their Spanish brothers, are defending not only the liberty and national independence of their own country but the cause of world peace and freedom.

The strength and success of the movement of solidarity with and aid for the Chinese people are developing throughout the world as a result of the indomitable will of the Chinese people for victory, and of the successes of the united, anti-Japanese national front in China; as a result of the indomitable will of the Spanish people for victory over the forces of intervention, and of the consolidation of the forces of the People's Front in Spain and in France; as a result of the firm peace policy of the Soviet Union, its unswerving support of the sovereign rights of the Chinese and Spanish republics, and its uncompromising defense of the cause of world peace, democracy and socialism. In this consistent peace policy of the land of socialism international proletarian solidarity finds its highest expression and greatest power.

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In the United States the mass movement in support of the Chinese people embraces almost the entire labor movement and broad sections of the liberal, church and peace movements.

A most active and leading role is being played by organized labor. In October, 1937, both the national conference of the Committee for Industrial Organization and the national convention of the American Federation of Labor, with a combined membership of nearly 8,000,000 workers, went on record condemning Japanese aggression and called for a *boycott of Japanese goods* by the international labor movement.

In addition to participating in the movement for the boycott of Japanese goods, hundreds of local unions, city and state labor bodies, as well as many national unions, such as the National Maritime Union, the Pacific Maritime Federation, the United Rubber Workers Union, the American Communications Association, the American Federation of Teachers, the United Radio and Electrical Workers Union, etc., and the Transport Workers Union have demanded that the American government place *an embargo on the shipment of armament and raw materials to Japan.*

They have demanded the enforcement of the Nine-Power Treaty and the Kellogg

Pact. They have participated in the picketing of the Japanese consulates, in the organization of a number of protest strike actions on the West Coast against the transportation of supplies to Japan, and in the organization of scores of mass meetings and demonstrations in New York, San Francisco, Seattle and other cities in support of the Chinese people. Thus, a mass demonstration was organized by the Maritime Federation in San Francisco in protest against the Japanese government "goodwill" mission which arrived in the U.S.A. on October 28. This action, which was accompanied by clashes with the police, developed into a strike of the 500 longshoremen unloading the *S.S. Tatsuta Maru.*

Significant also was the trade union conference which took place in San Francisco on November 7 to expand the Japanese boycott movement. This conference—which was attended by the majority of the C.I.O. and A.F. of L. unions in the district, by twenty-five fraternal organizations, by the American League for Peace and Democracy, by Chinese mass organizations and women's auxiliaries—formed a permanent committee to organize mass picketing of all stores selling Japanese goods. It called upon the participating organizations to wire the U.S. State Department and the Department of the Interior to apply an embargo against the shipment of munitions, arms, oil, scrap iron, lead and cotton to Japan. It declared in favor of a peace policy and of "quarantining the fascist aggressors."

A Congress for Peace and Democracy was held in Pittsburg on November 26-28, which was attended by 1,320 delegates from 405 trade unions and 401 various organizations, representing 4,407,000 members. This congress, which placed in the center of its deliberations and decisions the further development of the Chinese and Spanish aid campaigns, was sponsored by the American League Against War and Fascism.

The congress adopted a program of action which includes the following points: the promotion of the boycott of Japanese goods; a mass campaign to remove all restrictions on the access of the Chinese and Spanish governments to the purchase of American goods, and a concerted drive to influence the American government to pursue a foreign policy based upon: (a) a distinction between aggressors and victims of aggression; (b) collective action to quarantine the fascist aggressors, and (c) the enforcement of an embargo upon the aggressors.

The congress, which followed a period of intense activity by the American League for Peace and Democracy in aid of the Chinese people, a demonstration of 50,000 workers and liberals held in New York City on August 7, etc., will undoubtedly effect a broader mobilization of all labor and progressive forces in America in common action to render more effective aid to the champions of liberty and peace in China and Spain.

As the answer to the sinking of the *U. S. S. Panay* and the bombing of the three U.S. merchantmen on the Yangtse on December 13, a series of mass picket demonstrations was organized at the Japanese consulates in the principal American cities. Also leaders of nine national organizations, including several leading peace groups, collectively issued a public statement urging collective action of the democratic countries against the aggressor nations. In New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, etc., local Kuomintang, Communist and other groups are developing united national front activities in the organization of political and material aid to the Chinese people. Over $5,000,000 have been raised from among Chinese residents in America and sent to China. A whole series of solidarity demonstrations and mass meetings has been organized in New York City.

Numbers of Japanese immigrants in the U.S.A., particularly the workers, agricultural laborers and small truck farmers on the Pacific Coast, are being drawn into the aid-to-China movement. The progressive Japanese seamen's paper, *Taiyo Shimpo* (Ocean News), is cre-

ating popular sympathy for the cause of the Chinese people.

In the united and People's Front solidarity movement in aid of China the Communist Party of the U.S.A. is playing an active and influential political role, closely connecting this campaign with the broad campaign under way in defense of the Spanish people. Simultaneous with effective mass work conducted in collaboration with the American League for Peace and Democracy, the Friends of the Chinese People and various united front committees, the C.P.U.S.A. has expanded its independent Communist activity in aid of China throughout the country, organizing a series of national and local radio broadcasts, hundreds of mass meetings, demonstrations and picket lines in Washington, New York, Chicago, etc. It has developed a broad campaign through the *Daily Worker* and other Communist publications.

By bringing forward concretely how to utilize, implement and enforce existing international treaties to which the United States is either the sponsor or signatory, such as the Nine-Power Treaty and the Kellogg Pact, in the interests of combatting fascist aggression and maintaining world peace, the C.P.U.S.A. has succeeded in greatly strengthening the China aid campaign and has been able to influence large sections of the labor and peace movement away from the position of so-called isolationism and neutrality to support a policy of collective security and unity of action of the democratic forces against the fascist war-makers.

In sharp contrast to the policy of the Communist Party is the reactionary position taken by the majority of the national leadership of the Socialist Party in opposition to the attitude taken by the majority of the Socialist membership. Under the influence of Trotskyism, Norman Thomas and the leaders of the *Socialist Call* have substituted a campaign against the application of the principles of collective security for the campaign in aid of China. They have launched the most vicious campaign against the national anti-Japanese front of the Chinese people. They attack the program of Roosevelt for "quarantining" the fascist aggressors as a policy of "imperialist war." The logic of their position has led them to join with the extreme isolationists in urging the application of the Neutrality Act in the Far East. But despite their disruptive activity, hostility and opposition to the People's Front activities in aid of the Chinese people, the solidarity movement in support of China continues to expand and gather strength.

Since the outbreak of the war in China, and particularly since the invasion of Shanghai and the wholesale bombing of the civilian population of China, many church and peace organizations which up to now have been strongly influenced by the policy of neutrality and isolation have begun to take a stand favoring the collaboration of the American government with the governments of other democratic countries in order to maintain and strengthen peace throughout the world. A number of church and peace organizations are taking an active part in the Japanese boycott movement.

In Seattle, on August 28, a Committee Against International Aggression was established, including in its ranks dozens of trade unions, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Catholic Knights of Columbus, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Seattle Council of Churches, the American League for Peace and Democracy and the Chinese Club which embraces the major trade and commercial organizations operating in the Far East. The committee, which exercises wide influence, has adopted the position that to keep America out of war is not enough, that the U.S.A. must use its resources and influence to preserve peace in the Orient and throughout the world. It has come out definitely against the application of the American Neutrality Act and for the application of the Nine-Power Treaty. It has followed up its programmatic position with the organization of peace parades and energetic Japanese boycott activity.

The Federal Council of Churches, which represents 22,000,000 Protestant church people, has condemned Japanese aggression in China, has come out favoring the enforcement of the Nine-Power Treaty and the Kellogg Pact and has supported President Roosevelt's declaration for quarantining the aggressor nations.

The National Peace Conference, composed of forty organizations with an estimated affiliated membership of 60,000,000 people, has officially opposed the application of the Neutrality Law in the Far Eastern situation and has launched a campaign favoring the maintenance of international treaties, in the first place the Nine-Power Treaty and the Kellogg Pact, as well as favoring international cooperation against the warmakers. On September 19, in conjunction with the League of Nations Association, this National Peace Conference organized a national radio broadcast and 500 meetings throughout America on the question of the maintenance of peace in the Far East and the world.

The American Youth Congress, which represents approximately 5,000,000 youth, and the National Negro Congress, with an affiliated membership of 1,500,000, and various federations of women's clubs and other women's organizations, are developing considerable activity in the Japanese boycott campaign and peace movement for curbing the Japanese, German and Italian fascist inciters of war. In all activities in aid of China, the Friends of the Chinese People are playing a vigorous and influential role.

The growth of the popular movement in support of the Chinese people, combined with the sharpening antagonisms between the U.S.A. and Japanese imperialism in the Far East and South America, is beginning to make its influence felt in Washington. This is reflected in the refusal of President Roosevelt to apply the Neutrality Act in the Far East. This is indicated in Roosevelt's speech in Chicago on October 5 which condemned fascist aggression, emphasized the futility of a policy of peace based on isolation and neutrality, recognized the indivisibility of peace and stressed the necessity of the democratic powers taking concerted measures to quarantine international lawlessness and aggression.

The policy announced by Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull embodies some of the essential features with which to organize an active peace policy which, if enforced, could help isolate the war-makers and help the victims of aggression. It is clear that the realization of the policy pronounced by Roosevelt still remains to be resolutely carried out.

Commenting on Roosevelt's October 5 speech, Earl Browder, General Secretary of the C.P.U.S.A., said:

"Let us have no illusions, however, that the mere enunciation of this policy, important as this is, solves the problem. We already saw in the last session of Congress how the President's own party contains important forces which do not hesitate to block and defeat the President's policies. This will doubtless again be attempted on the peace policy. The reactionaries can be defeated only by mobilizing the masses of the people into active support for this policy, and to immediately begin to apply it in life by a great boycott movement against Japanese goods, by mass meetings, by delegations, by resolutions and by all and every means of organized public expression. The working class and all democratic-minded and peace-loving peoples must become active to realize effectively and in life the policy given by President Roosevelt."

This estimation has been made strikingly evident by the results of the Brussels conference, where the American delegates formed a bloc with the British delegation to frustrate the very principles enunciated by Roosevelt.

This is made further clear because the isolationist prejudices among the American peoples are being broken down, but the advocates of neutrality and isolationism, who receive their main inspiration and backing from the Hearsts, Morgans and du Ponts, are extremely active

in America and the influence of isolationism is still strong.

This is why the Communists and other advanced elements among the democratic and peace-loving forces are fighting against these sentiments, to extend the Japanese boycott movement and to develop on a wider scale other methods of helping China against Japan. They are bending every effort to broaden and coordinate on a national scale the activities of all labor and peace and liberal organizations supporting the struggle of the Chinese and Spanish peoples. They are devoting greater attention to overcoming the widespread tendency existing in the peace movement of relying upon Roosevelt and are working so that still greater pressure shall be exerted to influence the Roosevelt administration to adopt a consistent peace policy aimed to curb the fascist aggressors.

They are seeking more closely to link up the anti-fascist movement in aid of China and Spain with the developing People's Front movement for social and labor legislation, civil liberties and democratic rights. For in such a manner the solidarity movement in support of the Chinese people will develop its maximum strength, the forces of progress and peace will be multiplied in numbers and power, and the present criminal "neutrality" policy of the American government will make way for a positive peace policy commensurate with the best and most progressive traditions and democratic aspirations of the American people.

* * *

In Great Britain a mass campaign is developing in aid of the Chinese people which is meeting with widespread response among the membership of the trade unions, the Labor Party and other progressive organizations.

The depth of feeling shown in Britain against the Japanese war of aggression in China is evidenced, in part, by the large number of resolutions from trade unions, Labor Party branches, cooperative societies, from the Trade Councils, Town Councils and many other kinds of organizations in support of the Chinese people and the solidarity campaign now under way.

In October the National Council of Labor issued a statement demanding that the government prohibit British nationals from selling war materials or lending money to Japan and that it urge at Geneva that other members of the League should take similar action, that it call on all nations to join in the collective boycott of imports from Japan and to furnish medical supplies for China. At the same time, the South Wales Miners' Federation issued a call to the Trade Union Congress to move for international action to put an embargo on Japanese trade.

Under the influence of the sentiments of the lower organizations, the British Trade Union Congress, which met in September, and the Labor Party Conference, which met at Bournemouth in October, adopted resolutions on the lines of the call made by the National Council of Labor given above. The adoption of this policy by the Trade Unions and Labor Party gave a tremendous impetus to the campaign.

As the campaign developed, the feeling against Japan has become more intense. The Clydebank Town Council adopted a resolution calling on all shopkeepers and citizens to boycott Japanese goods. The executive committee of the South Wales Miners' Federation has urged its members to take a similar course. The London District Committees of the Transport and General Workers' Union urged its union executive to instruct dock branch members to refuse to handle goods destined for Japan. The same demand was made by dockers at Cardiff, Newport and Glasgow.

As a result of this broad campaign, on December 3, Southampton dockers refused to handle Japanese cargo on the *S. S. Duchess of Richmond*, which was sent back across the Atlantic unloaded, and notified the steamship agencies that they would likewise refuse to move any future Japanese cargo. This inspiring action, which was followed by similar strike action of dockers in Glasgow on December 7, is arousing the whole labor

movement and may lead to national action similar to that which developed after the *Jolly George* incident seventeen years ago and resulted in the stoppage of British intervention against the Soviet Union.

The General Council of the League of Nations' Union in London has demanded the abandonment "of the farce of non-intervention in Spain and the end of Japanese aggression in China." The National Executive Committee of the Council of Action for Peace and Reconstruction, headed by Lloyd George, has taken a position of condemnation of Japanese aggression and support for the boycott movement.

The main activities in Britain on behalf of the Chinese people are being conducted through the broad China Campaign Committee which was organized in September and which is carrying on energetic work. This committee includes in its ranks representatives from all important parties and mass organizations.

The China Campaign Committee has organized a mass demonstration in Trafalgar Square, has already sent three consignments of medical supplies to China and has collected thousands of pounds in cash and several tons of clothes for relief purposes; 150,000 copies of *China Illustrated* have been published by the Committee.

The C.P.G.B. is displaying considerable activity in the development of the solidarity actions in support of the Chinese people. It took the initiative in raising the issue of boycotting Japanese goods and of organizing mass refusals to handle or ship war materials to Japan. It has championed the struggle for labor unity in the fight for democracy and peace, against Japanese, German and Italian aggression and for the adoption of the corresponding policy at home and abroad.

Despite the growing movement of the British workers and people in support of China, the National Government continues to carry out a policy that in fact encourages Japan and its German and Italian allies.

This situation has been made possible because the solidarity campaign in aid of China, while broadening, still does not *actively* involve the decisive sections of the Labor Party and the trade union movement, because there are still strong tendencies in the labor movement which rely upon the Executive Committees of the Labor Party and the Trade Union Congress to carry into life the decisions taken on China and Spain; because the movement for organizing independent working class actions to prevent the loading and unloading of Japanese shipments in British ports is only in its initial stages.

This situation has been made possible, moreover, because the growing dissatisfaction of th British workers with the reactionary role of the Bevins and Citrines has not yet been organized on a wide enough scale to overcome the disastrous policy of their leaders who are supporting the rearmament and the foreign policy of the National Government and are disrupting unity of action of the labor movement in Great Britain and on the international arena.

The development of the campaigns in aid of the Chinese and Spanish people, as well as the recent municipal elections, have shown that unity of action is the only effective policy for the working class, and that unity of action can be and must be achieved in Britain as in other countries.

* * *

The people of France—who are consolidating and broadening their people's fighting front against the attacks of capital and the growing menace of war and who by their devoted assistance to Spain and the sending of their best sons in support of the Spanish people have demonstrated their proletarian internationalism—were quick to understand and appreciate the need of intensive aid to the people of China.

The trade union movement, under the leadership of the C.G.T., has taken the initiative in developing a Japanese boycott campaign and other aid to China. In the early part of October, the Executive Committee of the C.G.T. in condemning Japanese aggression urged the

French public systematically to boycott goods from Japan and asked its affiliated organizations "urgently to take all possible measures immediately to put into effect the decisions of the I.F.T.U. so as to make the boycott effective." The C.G.T. voted a financial grant to be sent to China.

Many local trade union branches have also developed an active campaign of solidarity with China. Of outstanding importance was the splendid action of the Marseilles dockers who, on October 22, refused to unload the Japanese steamer *Kashima Maru* and forced the ship to leave port with its cargo untouched.

With the cooperation of the French trade unions, the Friends of the Chinese People Society mobilized broad sections of the French people around the Paris conference held on November 3 for the purpose of crystallizing aid in support of China.

The conference addressed a letter to the foreign delegations then meeting at the Nine-Power Treaty Conference in Brussels in which it urged the denunciation of Japanese aggression and the illegal blockade of the Chinese coast by Japan, the application of economic sanctions against the aggressors in accordance with international law. The conference also demanded that the French government give such material aid to China as medical assistance, relief to refugees, guarantees of normal trade relations by land and sea. The conference also called for a nationwide boycott of Japanese goods. Unquestionably the conference served to rally considerable sections of the French population and their organizations to active support and aid to the Chinese people.

In the recent one-hour strike of the Paris metal workers, as well as in the demonstration of 30,000 building workers, the slogan of support for the Chinese people was raised in conjunction with the struggles of the French workers for bread and freedom. Similarly, the 300,000 organized workers of the Department du Nord have linked the demand for aid to the Chinese and Spanish people with their struggle for unemployment relief and insurance.

The C. P. of France is playing the leading role in the developing campaign of solidarity with China and is now raising the question before the French working class and the People's Front of securing from the government the lifting of the ban on the shipment of arms and war supplies to China through Indo-China. The growing power of the People's Front and the exemplary solidarity actions of the French masses in aid of Republican Spain indicate that this responsibility will also be fulfilled.

* * *

In Australia the campaign in defense of China which is developing throughout the country is mainly under the leadership of the trade union movement. In September the Executive Committee of the Australian Trade Union Congress condemned the Japanese aggressors, and called upon all trade unions to carry through a boycott of Japanese goods, to refuse to handle material destined for Japan, and to demand that the Federal government cancel the Japanese concession of the huge Yampi Sound iron ore deposits in Northwest Australia. Immediately the Labor Councils of Sydney, Adelaide, Newcastle and Canberra decided to organize a boycott of all Japanese goods. The Sydney Labor Council sponsored a "Hands Off China" Committee which launched an effective boycott movement.

The Ironworkers' Union of Sydney and the Ironworkers' and Boilermakers' Unions in Newcastle have all adopted decisions to refuse to repair or overhaul any ship working on Japanese trade. The Railwaymen's Union, with a membership of 45,000, has decided to apply the boycott against Japanese goods and to take steps to prevent the transport of scrap iron to Japan.

The waterfront workers of Freemantle, Western Australia, refused to fuel and provision a Japanese whaling fleet of five vessels which had to leave port and await the sending of fuel and provisions direct from Japan.

The waterfront workers of Sydney and Newcastle, Bowen, North Queensland, Melbourne, Adelaide and Freemantle have refused to handle any merchandise either to or from Japan.

In the cities of Sydney, Adelaide, Melbourne and Newcastle demonstrations have been held at which the main slogans were: "Down with Japanese fascism"; "Support the Chinese people —Defend Australian peace"; "Boycott all Japanese goods."

At Newcastle thirty-six Chinese members of the crew of a ship carrying a cargo to Manchukuo refused to take the ship out of port. They received the full support of the Australian workers and trade unions which forced the Australian Federal government to repatriate the Chinese seamen to Hong Kong.

Under the influence of the mass movement initiated by the Australian workers, large sections of the middle class are taking action in support of the boycott of Japanese goods. The State Councils of the National Peace Movement, and the League of Nations Union have declared themselves in support of the boycott and called upon the democratic countries through the League of Nations to impose sanctions against Japan.

The Archbishop of the Angelican Church and professors from the Universities of Perth, Adelaide and Melbourne have declared support for the boycott movement and other actions the Japanese fascist-militarists.

The Lyons Federal government and a majority of the Australian Labor Party leaders are doing their utmost to break the boycott movement. But so far they have been unsuccessful.

The Australian workers are taking steps to coordinate on a national scale the solidarity movement in support of the Chinese people. Additional measures are being taken to draw all sections of the progressive people of Australia into this movement and at the same time bring about a basic change in the policy of the Labor Party leadership—as well as of the Federal Government—and thus to achieve the operation of a policy aimed to organize collective security and mass actions to curb the fascist aggressors and preserve world peace.

The Australian Communist Party, which has played an active and leading part in the development of the campaign in defense of China, is bending every effort to coordinate and extend the movement, and to establish unity of action throughout the labor movement and among the whole Australian people in order to keep Australia out of war by keeping war out of the Pacific.

* * *

The solidarity movement on behalf of the struggle of the Chinese people for freedom and world peace is extending in other countries as well.

In Belgium a powerful united front movement in support of China has been launched. A conference of 1,200 delegates from all democratic organizations, including the Belgian Labor Party, trade unions, Communist Party, the Liberal Youth, the United Socialist Students' League, and other groups—was recently held in Liege. Concrete measures were adopted for extending moral and material aid to the Chinese people.

On November 25 several hundred thousand workers attended a meeting in Brussels on behalf of China, organized by the Brussels trade unions and the Labor Party. The declaration of solidarity expressed by the representative of the Communist Party with the anti-war and pro-Chinese action of the trade unions was enthusiastically received. At the meeting, Vandervelde and Louis de Brouckere, chairman of the Belgian section of the I.P.C. (International Peace Congress), urged the application of economic and financial sanctions against the aggressors and stated that "only unity of all democrats and of the whole working class can make our actions effective."

In Mexico a broad campaign in aid of China has been developed under the leadership of the Society of Friends of the Chinese People, to which are affiliated the National Revolutionary Party headed by President Cardenas, the Confederation of Mexican Workers, the Con-

federation of Mexican Peasants, the Communist Party and the United Socialist Youth League. Upon the initiative of the society and the Sixth Plenum of the National Council of the Confederation of Mexican Workers, a nationwide Japanese boycott movement has been launched. Huge mass meetings in aid of the Chinese people have been held in Mexico City, Vera Cruz and other cities in connection with the powerful campaign of solidarity in support of Republican Spain.

In Canada the movement against Japanese aggression and for a boycott of Japanese goods is assuming wide dimensions.

Not only the workers' organizations but the City Councils of York Township, Blairmore, Stratford, Munico and Port Arthur have gone on record favoring a boycott of all Japanese goods. The Provincial Government of Alberta recently recommended to the Provincial Legislature to petition the Dominion Government to stop all exports "of all those different things which are destined to aid Japan in its ruthless attacks upon the innocent, peace-loving Chinese people and to all nations stirring up war activities."

In Norway, South Africa, New Zealand, Malaya and a number of other countries the trade unions and other progressive organizations have launched a Japanese boycott and are developing a big agitational campaign in defense of China. The local organizations of the Chinese people are especially active in this movement and in the organization of moral and material aid to the victims of Japanese invasion. The Norwegian sailors have organized a number of strikes against the shipment of supplies to Japan.

In the Dutch East Indies, despite the strict suppression of anti-imperialist activities by the Dutch government, scores of legal committees have been organized throughout Java, Sumatra, Borneo, etc., for "Aid to the Chinese Non-Combatants," supported by the native population. Over 3,000,000 Dutch guilders have already been collected and sent to Nanking. On December 10, the first ambulance with a medical staff of sixteen was sent to China. Under the leadership of the Indonesian Chinese organizations, an extremely effective Japanese boycott movement has been organized.

The invasion of China by the Japanese militarists and the direct menace of Japanese aggression in the Philippines are serving to convert the Archipelago into an outpost of most active support to the Chinese people. The National Federation of Labor, the National Federation of Peasants, the Toilers' League, the Socialist Party and other organizations affiliated to the People's Alliance—the center of the Filipino People's Front movement for democracy and national liberation—have organized a big campaign in defense of the Chinese people. Solidarity mass meetings have been held in Manila and Cebu, including a huge united front rally in Manila on October 31 which took steps to extend the Japanese Boycott movement. The Chinese organizations in Manila are especially active in the campaign and have raised over 1,000,000 pesos in response to the appeal of Chiang Kai-Shek. Manuel Quezon, President of the Philippine National Assembly, has made a number of public statements expressing his sympathy with the Chinese people.

* * *

In Japan, Germany and Italy, despite a fierce terror, the victims of fascist enslavement are increasingly finding ways and means of expressing their solidarity with the Chinese and Spanish victims of fascist aggression.

The recent arrests in Italy of a group of Communists, Socialists, Republicans and members of the fascist party for the "crime" of organizing a "United Anti-Fascist Front"; the growing number of "riots" among Italian troops boarding ships for "destinations unknown"; the growing strike sentiment and anti-war sabotage activities in Japan; the recent arrests in Berlin of seventeen women for collecting funds for the Chinese and Spanish people; the well-known inci-

dents of "defective" German bombs which failed to explode on the Spanish war front; the strikes of seamen in Hamburg and of coal miners in the Ruhr against working on Franco-destined materials—are but a few evidences of the splendid expression of the international solidarity movement of the peoples of the fascist countries in support of the defenders of liberty in China, as in Spain.

* * *

The solidarity movement in aid of China is growing in all countries. But what has been done so far constitutes only the *first steps.* The present level and scope of the China aid campaign can only be considered *the commencement of a broader and more effective international solidarity movement of struggle which must be launched at all costs and as rapidly as possible.*

The Japanese fascist-militarists have succeeded in inflicting a number of heavy military blows against the Chinese national-liberation armies, thanks to the policy of "non-intervention" and "watchful waiting" pursued by the bourgeois-democratic countries. The Japanese brigands, just as the German and Italian pirates, are still able to receive huge shipments of armaments and war materials, without interference. They are still able to violate all international treaties and covenants of peace, and even the "spheres of influence of the Great Powers" with virtual impunity and under the benevolent "tolerance" of the signatories of the Nine-Power Treaty. The consistent peace policy and proposals of the Soviet Union for curbing the fascist warmakers by a program of collective security and sanctions, of a system of non-aggression and mutual assistance pacts, as again put forward at the Brussels Conference by Litvinov, are still sidestepped and checkmated by the reactionary circles in the governments of the capitalist democracies—in the first place by the National Government of Great Britain.

This policy of the bourgeois-democratic countries of capitulating to and of aiding and encouraging the fascist aggressors, must be brought to an end. This policy—a policy of political suicide for the democratic countries and peoples—must be quickly and decisively changed.

Just as the Nazi and Italian fascists are preparing for and would follow up a victory in Spain with new military onslaughts and intervention in Czechoslovakia, Austria, France, the U.S.S.R., etc., so the Japanese fascist-militarists want to crush the Chinese people in order to acquire a broader base for continuing their plundering expeditions in and for an attack on the Philippine Islands, the Dutch East Indies, Australia, Indo-China, as well as in order to prepare for a more "elaborate" military offensive against the Soviet Union, the U.S.A. and England.

This is why the struggle against the splitting policy of the reactionary leaders of the Second International and for establishing working class unity of action in each country and throughout the world—which is the decisive problem for strengthening and broadening the campaign in aid of the Chinese and Spanish people, and for increasing the fighting power of the labor and peace movements—is being pushed forward with the greatest firmness and vigor by the Communists and the most progressive sections of the working class.

This is why the struggle against the counter-revolutionary ideology and wrecking activities of the Trotskyite-Bukharinite agents of fascism, who are endeavoring to disintegrate the international movement in aid of the victims of fascist aggression, and are attempting to destroy the unity of the Spanish and Chinese people—is being undertaken by all peace-loving peoples everywhere as an inseparable part of the fight for peace and democracy.

This is why the defenders of the Chinese people and world peace are striving to extend and organize the boycott movement of Japanese goods on a really mass scale and to develop still further other forms of independent working class actions, so as to exert maximum pressure

on the bourgeois-democratic countries and the League of Nations to enforce the application of an active peace policy based on the principles of collective security to curb and check the fascist instigators of war.

That is why the international solidarity movement in aid of the Chinese people must be extended and strengthened in every possible way.

In the present world situation, where to a great extent the fate of world peace and democracy is being decided in China and Spain, the yardstick for measuring the proletarian internationalism of all working class parties and organizations and the sincerity of all democrats and adherents of peace, is the devotion, energy and self-sacrifice with which they participate in and give leadership to the solidarity movement in support of the heroic Chinese and Spanish peoples.

To prove equal to the exigencies of the situation, to fulfill with Bolshevik dispatch and honor the great responsibilities with which history has confronted all sections of the Communist International, the Communists, as well as the democratic forces of all countries, should be guided in their actions by the prophetic words and advice of Comrade Dimitroff, written before the present events, in July, 1936, on the occasion of the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Communist Party of China:

"The international proletariat is following the events in China with unflagging interest. It has repeatedly demonstrated its solidarity with the fighting Chinese people and the Communist Party of China. But at the moment when the direct menace of complete enslavement hangs over China, these usual manifestations of solidarity are insufficient. What is needed is to surround the Chinese people, who are fighting for their liberty, with live sympathy and love, and with real moral and political support. It is necessary that energetic measures be taken to exert pressure on public opinion and the governments, first and foremost in England, France and the U.S.A. and to secure that all direct and indirect support of the robber plans and deeds of the Japanese fascist military clique is really abandoned. We must unceasingly brand, as a foul plot against peace, culture and democracy, the alliance between German fascism and the Japanese military clique, directed toward the dismemberment and enslavement of China and towards unloosing a new imperialist world war. . . ."

"We must mobilize the forces of the whole of the international proletariat to render help to the Chinese people, for this great people is fighting for its independent national existence on one of the most important sectors of the world front of struggle against fascism and war."*

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* See *China: The March Toward Unity*, p. 87, Workers Library Publishers, New York.

The Bourgeois and Social-Democratic Press About the Twentieth Anniversary of the Great October Revolution

BY A. KELLERMAN

ON THE occasion of the great October Revolution the bourgeois and Social-Democratic press published not only articles—in many cases in several issues consecutively—but entire pages of various kinds of materials regarding the conditions of the working people in the U.S.S.R., the development of socialist industry and agriculture, the cultural progress of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., the strengthening of the defensive power of the country, and the increase in the might of the Red Army.

The German and Italian fascist press have been and are now resorting to all sorts of lies and slanders in the attempt to diminish the importance of the great victories of socialism in the U.S.S.R. But since nobody can hide the truth about the U.S.S.R., this attempt only shows fascism in its true light to the working masses of Germany and Italy.

It is characteristic of the bourgeois and Social-Democratic press that on this occasion they did not limit themselves to formal anniversary articles but, irrespective of their friendly or hostile attitude to the U.S.S.R., were compelled to give expression to their views in connection with the twentieth anniversary of the existence of the Soviet government. Even the so-called "big" press of the reactionary capitalist circles, headed by the British Tory press, could not but devote considerable attention to the victory of socialism on one-sixth of the globe, and admit the successes and power of the socialist state.

The conservative American *New York Herald Tribune*, in describing the November 7 celebrations in the U.S.S.R., pointed to the fact that the entire people participated in the celebrations, and that this "testifies to the power of the Soviet Union achieved in twenty years."

The conservative London *Daily Express*, stating that it was not believed that the Bolshevik regime would last six months, wrote:

". . . It has endured for a generation and today Bolshevism is built in steel and concrete over the face of the largest country in the world. . . .

"Well, the Soviets are entitled to their celebration. For they have done a mighty thing. Under the Bolsheviks Russia threw off finally and forever the tsarist chains. She stood alone against all-comers and whipped them out of her lands. . . .

"Her industrial and agricultural output is increasing . . . the material standards of life there are rising.

". . . All this constitutes a truly astonishing achievement."

Let us quote a few extracts which show the position of the representatives of the liberal bourgeoisie.

Ripka, the well-known Czechoslovakian journalist and editor of the *Lidovy-Noviny*, wrote the following in his article devoted to the twentieth anniversary:

"When we compare the present situation with the situation in Russia prior to the revolution, we cannot avoid the temptation to say that miracles are possible in this world. The main demands of the two Five-Year Plans have been fulfilled. It will not be an exaggeration to say that Russia, which twenty years ago was unbelievably backward, *is in many respects ahead of the rest of the world in the cultural education of the Soviet people."*

Albert Bayet, Vice-Chairman of the French Radical Socialist Party, wrote the following in the *Clarté:*

"The peoples are beginning to recognize that systematic capitulation to the warmongers is leading to a world war, and yet, however gloomy the present moment may be, the light of hope is breaking through. *This light,* and impartial history will mark this, *comes from the policy of the Soviet Union.* All Republicans must wish that France and all the free peoples follow the courageous example of the Soviet Union, for herein lies the guarantee of peace."

Lassila, well-known professor of the Helsingfors University, wrote the following regarding the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution in the organ of the Finnish Progressive Party:

"The development of the Soviet Union during the last twenty years has gone forward at a gigantic pace. Thanks to its internal organization, the U.S.S.R. has shown that a country can exist even when the means of production have in great part been socialized. . . . It must be recognized that the *maintenance of the Soviet government has proved to be a piece of good fortune for peace and for the League of Nations. Had it fallen, it is very likely that there would no longer be a single democratic state in Europe."*

All the best representatives of the progressive intelligentsia took up their pens in connection with the twentieth anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution, in order to mark the triumph of socialism in the U.S.S.R., as the greatest thing ever achieved by mankind. Among these people we see such well-known writers and public figures as Romain Rolland, Sidney Webb, Theodore Dreiser, Upton Sinclair, Heinrich Mann, Jose Bergamin, Andersen Nexö and many others.

In his article devoted to the twentieth anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution, Comrade Dimitroff wrote the following words:

"In the present international situation there is not, nor can there be any other, *more certain criterion* than one's *attitude* towards the Soviet Union in determining who is the *friend* and who the *enemy* of the cause of the working class and socialism, of determining who is a *supporter* and who an *opponent* of democracy and peace. The touchstone in checking the sincerity and honesty of every individual active in the working class movement, of every working class party and organization of the working people, and of every democrat in the capitalist countries is their *attitude* toward the great land of socialism. You cannot carry on a real struggle against fascism if you do not render all possible assistance in strengthening the *most important buttress* of this struggle, namely, the Soviet Union.

"You cannot carry on a serious struggle against the fascist instigators of a new world bloodbath, if you do not render undivided support to the U.S.S.R., this *most important factor* in the maintenance of international peace. You cannot carry on a real struggle for socialism in your own country, if you do not oppose the enemies of the Soviet state, where this socialism is being fulfilled by the heroic efforts of the working people. You cannot be considered a *real friend* of the U.S.S.R., if you do not condemn its enemies — the Trotsky - Bukharinite agents of fascism."

In the majority of cases the attitude of the Social-Democratic press towards the twentieth anniversary of the Soviet Union showed that the triumphant advance of socialism in the U.S.S.R. can no longer be removed from the pages of the Social-Democratic newspapers, despite the fact that in the majority of cases they are still in the hands of re-

actionary leaders of Social-Democracy.

A part of the Social-Democratic press, such as the Brussels *Peuple*, the Copenhagen *Social-demokraten*, the Amsterdam *Het Volk*, the organ of the German Social-Democratic Party, *Der Neue Vorwärts*, reflect the spasmodic efforts of the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy once again to pass over in silence or to distort the truth about the U.S.S.R. during the days of joy and of the demonstration of sympathy towards the Soviet Union by the wide masses of the Social-Democratic workers.

It is actually not at all difficult to determine who benefits from the support given by Pierrard, a member of the staff of the Belgian *Peuple* to the anti-Soviet slanders spread about by Citrine. Or who if not fascism, the most out-and-out enemy of the working class, is echoed by *Der Neue Vorwärts*, the organ of German Social-Democracy, when in connection with the twentieth anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution it publishes an article saturated through and through with hostility to the U.S.S.R.? The same reactionary Social-Democratic leaders are at work in *Der Neue Vorwärts* as yielded step by step to Hitler fascism when they still held the reins of state power in their hands in Prussia, and were able to reckon on the support of millions of organized workers.

As against the rotten reformists of *Der Neue Vorwärts*, one of the leading figures among the German Social-Democrats, Aufhaeuser, in the weekly *Rundschau* gives the following estimate of the importance of the Soviet Union for the liberation struggle of the international working class.

"I consider myself free of party and tactical considerations when I declare that in the economic sphere the abolition of private ownership in the Soviet Union is of fundamental and decisive importance for the workers of all countries. . . . The preservation of the peace front in Europe is inseparable from the defense of the Soviet Union against fascism. The liberation of the workers enslaved in the 'Third Empire' follows the line of the struggle being waged by the Soviet Union against the same German fascism."

The former Reichstag deputy Seidewitz, another representative of progressive Social-Democratic workers in Germany, declared in a report connected with the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution that it *was with horror that he called to mind the time when, as a result of the criminal slander directed at the proletarian revolution and Soviet power, people deprived themselves of all possibilities of drawing the lessons of the events in Russia.* In his report Seidewitz among other points stressed the following:

"I feel bound to say that I consider Stalin to be the greatest proletarian politician and statesman."

These sober voices express the opinions of those Social-Democratic workers of Germany who are waging a struggle against the fascist dictatorship, and who, having drawn their conclusions from the bankrupt reformism of such gentry as the Otto Welses, Hilferdings and Leiparts, are fighting shoulder to shoulder with their Communist class brothers, preparing the way for the overthrow of the Hitler regime.

Despite the profound sympathy of the wide masses of the working people of France and of wide circles of active members of the Socialist Party toward the U.S.S.R., the *Populaire*, official organ of the Socialist Party of France, passed over in silence the twentieth anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution. The *Daily Herald* behaved in a similar way, if we except a brief description of the Red Square demonstration on November 7.

The *Pravo Lidu*, official organ of Czechoslovak Social-Democracy, devoted almost the entire issue of November 7 to the anniversary of the October Revolution. In its leading article this paper wrote the following:

"The first twenty years of the Soviet Union have succeeded in convincing all its opponents of the vitality of the new

state. If this state when it first came to being could not be overthrown by military intervention, it will not be overthrown now either by the crusades which are declared, only because the growing might and importance of the Soviet Union are increasingly asserting themselves in international politics."

The same issue of the *Pravo Lidu* contained a wealth of material regarding the successes of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., but at the same time this paper still considers it necessary to distort both individual stages of the struggle of the Bolshevik Party for socialist construction, as well as individual facts out of the life of the Soviet Union. The *Pravo Lidu* thereby only shows that it is very far behind both the real democratic press of Czechoslovakia and the views and strivings of the democratic masses of this country.

As is well known, there were quite a number of Social-Democratic publicists who at the time when the Soviet power was established foretold its speedy "doom" with all the "boldness" of Stock Exchange speculators. One of the most "authoritative" among the false prophets of that time was Otto Bauer. In this connection his "conscience" does not apparently leave him in peace. This may be seen from the following words in his article, devoted to the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution, and printed in the *Kampf*, theoretical organ of Austrian Social-Democracy:

"The social revolution brought about on November 7 was the result of unexampled daring. The fact that November 7 maintained itself at a time when its doom seemed almost unavoidable was the result of heroic endurance and persistance."

Otto Bauer still continues to avoid calling the victorious socialism in the U.S.S.R. by its real name. He calls it "Socialism being born." And he does not note the fact that he is dealing blows at himself by the admissions that he has been compelled to make regarding the actual state of affairs in the Soviet Union. In the same article he writes the following:

"The social revolution brought about by the Soviet power has no equal in world history. Capital and large-scale landed proprietorship have been expropriated. A gigantic industry has been built which belongs not to the capitalists, but to the state as the representative of the entire body of the people. The peasant farms have been collectivized; in the collective farms a new form of cooperative-peasant economy has been established. The peasant fields with their but recent primitive economy receive high quality seeds, the aid of tractors, and combines gather in the harvest.

"The doors of high schools are wide open to the children of the workers and peasants. A new generation of statesmen and business leaders, engineers and agronomists, doctors and teachers, scientists and artists has emerged from out of the working class and the peasants. Illiteracy has been considerably reduced, while nations which possessed no history have been roused to a new life of culture, free from the chains of the East. The thirst for culture on the part of the masses has increased tremendously. . . . During these twenty years a new civilization has really grown up."

Otto Bauer is compelled to admit that all *the youth of the Soviet peoples "are being trained in the spirit of socialist ideology"* and that in the Soviet Union:

"The factories and mines, estates and forests no longer belong to the capitalists, the work of the proletarians there no longer brings profits to capitalists, the money-bags no longer hold sway, while the representatives of the working class govern the state."

But at the same time as Otto Bauer marks these facts, he does not omit to make hostile attacks on the U.S.S.R., which, although their tone and form are weaker, are fundamentally a repetition of the anti-Soviet slander he spread about during the days of the trials of the Trotskyite gangs of spies and assassins, whose inglorious advocate he became. He makes a slanderous "criticism" of socialism in the U.S.S.R., well knowing that

he thereby adds grist to the mill of the worst enemies of the U.S.S.R.—fascism and its allies of all shades.

But however much Otto Bauer may wish to undermine the foundations of the Soviet Union, in respect to one question at any rate he feels that the internation proletariat will not tolerate such "criticism," namely, the question of the defense of the Soviet Union; and Bauer is compelled to make the hypocritical statement that:

"Against the world of capitalism and fascism, against any aggressor who threatens it [the Soviet Union—*Ed.*], the proletariat throughout the world must take its side (the side of the Soviet Union)—must unreservedly, unconditionally, resolutely defend it, and lead the way to victory."

The Basle *Arbeiter Zeitung* which, during the trials of the Trotskyite spies, assassins and wreckers occupied itself with beating the anti-Soviet drum of Herr Goebbels' press, also could not but take account of the profound sympathies for the U.S.S.R., of wide sections of Social-Democratic workers and officials in Switzerland, and thereby was compelled to refute the lies it spread about a year ago. In an article devoted to the twentieth anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution it wrote the following:

"Decisive and colossal importance attaches to the fact that the brutal moneykings, who deliver the peoples to be torn to pieces, cannot lord it in the Soviet Union. Herein lies the tremendous importance of the existence of this state, the buttress of collective economy and of developing socialism. It is now clear why the desperate forces of the dying world pursue this state with unrestrained hatred."

The Social-Democratic workers stand for the unconditional defense of the U.S.S.R., and the number of leading forces among the Social-Democrats who are shaking off the foul attitude of the reactionary leaders of the Labor and Socialist International towards the U.S.S.R. is increasing irresistibly. There is also an increase in the number of the leading figures in Social-Democracy who are beginning to understand the immeasurable service rendered daily, in the past and now by the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. to the cause of the international working class and of the working people throughout the world in their struggle against fascism and war for liberation from the yoke of capitalism.

In the *Arbeider Bladet*, organ of the Norwegian Labor Party, Tranmaels expresses the positive attitude of the Social-Democratic workers to the Soviet Union. Tranmaels writes:

"The Russian revolution marks a new era. A foundation has now been laid in Russia on which a new society of mutuality and solidarity is being built. Every step forward signifies not only the victory of the Russian workers and peasants, but also the victory of all the working people of all countries. The Soviet Union now is also a most powerful buttress against war, fascism and reaction."

Sundstroem, a Social-Democratic deputy in the Finnish Parliament, noting the fact that in the Soviet Union "the socialist economic system has for the first time passed from the realm of utopia into the realm of actuality, that the lessons of the Bolsheviks are of benefit to international socialism," writes the following:

"And even when many democrats take up a negative line towards the Soviet Union, I wish to raise the following question so as to show the tremendous significance of the Soviet Union in the development of peace: what would now be the position of European democracy had capitalism, in the place of the Soviet Union and its socialist economy which demands no economic expansion, been predominant with its economic expansion, and perhaps even tsarism or fascism?"

In the issue of the *Travail*, organ of the Socialist Party of Geneva which is distinguished for its understanding of the colossal importance of the Soviet Union for the victory of international socialism,

devoted to the twentieth anniversary of the socialist revolution, the well-known Socialist leader Nicole wrote:

"Soviet Russia is a work that hurls a challenge at the centuries. It has sunk roots into the very secret depths of the human heart, of that human heart which, since the days when man became a thinking being, has been striving for equality, justice and happiness for all."

Otto Friedlaender, the German Social-Democratic publicist, in connection with the twentieth anniversary of the Revolution, raises the following question in the columns of the *Volkestimme*, organ of the Communist Party of Luxemburg: "Why must we Social-Democrats say 'Aye' as regards the existence of the Soviet Union?" Friedlaender gives the following reply to this question:

"For many, at least eight reasons:

"1. The Soviet Union by building up a socialist state has abolished bourgeois class domination;

"2. The Soviet Union has made the means of production the property of the working people;

"3. The Soviet Union has given practical proof of the possibility of socialist-planned economy;

"4. The Soviet Union has satisfied the national needs of its people in an exemplary way;

"5. The Soviet Union has carried through a tremendous amount of technical and cultural construction for the benefit of 170,000,000 workers and peasants;

"6. The Soviet Union has given its working people hitherto unparalleled social legislation;

"7. The Soviet Union is the only country which is giving real and energetic support in Spain to resistance to the fascist onslaught; it is carrying through the only effective policy of peace; the struggle against war;

"8. The Soviet Union has drawn up a Constitution the fulfilment of which clears the way for the socialist democracy for which we Social-Democrats are also striving, a democracy which one does not grow into, it is true, but which one must win."

This reply of a German Social-Democrat is a correct reflection of the views of the Social-Democratic workers in all countries, and of wide sections of honest Social-Democratic officials regarding the Soviet Union as *an invincible fortress of socialism*, peace and liberty, and as the beacon for all working people in their struggle against the yoke of decaying capitalism.

The Fascist Cerberus and the British Government

BY R. PAGE ARNOT

THE three-headed fascist dog barks, and successively the British government gives way. . . . Why?

The fascist Cerberus barks in Rome; and into his maw the British government let fall Ethiopia, Gibraltar and the control of the Mediterranean. Cerberus barks from Tokyo—and promptly the British government let him extend his dripping jaws over China, including British interests, and even British sacrosanct ambassadors. Cerberus barks from Berlin, and straightaway plans are made in Britain to enable colonies, preferably some other power's colonies, to go as a sop for Cerberus.

It looks on the face of it as if this were nervousness on the part of the British government. Much well-meant advice is proffered to the National government that it will never tame Cerberus by sops —and that it is necessary to muzzle the beast.

But all this advice is misconceived, for the bankers and manufacturers behind the National government are much more concerned to find a way of muzzling . . . all anti-fascists, democracy, and to retreat before fascism.

The deferential attitude of the National government to Hitler is that of merchants who think they can do *a deal*, to their own advantage, and who are not troubled with any scruples as to the way the deal is carried through or as to how it may affect the interests of other countries, including the interests of world peace.

Indeed, the interests of world peace, to which they are formally committed in the League of Nations, represent only a hindrance to the successful carrying through of the deal—while the peace-loving sentiments of the mass of British people—another hindrance—compel them to maneuver very cautiously.

The foreign policy of the National government, with its successive stages in the technique of treachery, is repeatedly dark and tortuous.

The most significant of the recent steps is the November visit of Lord Halifax to Hitler at Berchtesgaden. The whole affair accords well with the policy of the National government.

Under what circumstances did this plan arise; what are its roots, who is operating it, and who is to be the victim of this plan?

The circumstances, which hastened Halifax's visit to Hitler were, first, the signing of the Three-Power Anti-Comintern Pact in Rome on November 3. That pact, it is declared by British semi-official organs, is really directed mainly against the British Empire. The ink is scarcely dry upon the signatures to the pact when the emissary of the British bourgeoisie is eagerly speeding to Berchtesgaden to open the bargaining with Hitler and Goering.

Second, the circumstances were the ignominious collapse of the Conference of Nine-Power-Pact signatories at Brussels, where once again the National government sought to stage a "non-interven-

tion" policy in China for the benefit of Japan.*

Third, the circumstances were the *de facto* recognition of Franco, as a step to an agreement with Mussolini.

Altogether, fascism appeared to have scored several successes in its predatory policy in November, including the Vargas military-fascist *coup d'etat* in Brazil.

The origins of the Halifax-Hitler conversations were to be found in the activities of the ardent pro-fascist clique in Britain. These comprise Sir Neville Henderson, British Ambassador in Berlin, Lord Londonderry, the Orange-Tory magnate who seeks by fascist influence to regain his seat in the Cabinet, Lord Lothian who plays a similar pro-fascist role on the Liberal side, and the crew of reactionaries around the *Times* and its millionaire-owners, the Astor family. After some weeks of preparatory propaganda by the *Times*, and after many intrigues, the scheme was hatched at the end of October in the Astors' country house at Cliveden. (It is chiefly in the great country houses of England that the liberties of the English people have been bartered away or betrayed.) It only remained to win over the Cabinet or a section of it for the plot to be carried through; and, after some internal bickerings, including a rumored resignation (on October 8) by Eden, the Halifax conversations were set afoot.

The choice of Lord Halifax as the emissary was not unimportant. Halifax was Minister of Education in 1924 in the Cabinet of the well-known reactionary Baldwin; then he went to India as Viceroy under the title of Lord Irwine. Under his vice-royalty, Indians were shot down by machine-guns, bombed from the air, cast into prison and flogged, while the total number of political prisoners amounted to between fifty and six thousand. And so a man whose rule was the blackest in a century of Indian history might well shake hands with murder in the shape of Hitler and Goering and with them discuss how to betray the interests of peace and democracy.

It appears from the London press that the Halifax-Hitler conversations covered the following points:

1. A ten years' truce on British colonies in return for which,
2. Hitler to be given a free hand in Central and Eastern Europe.
3. The League of Nations to be revised (in the fascist meaning of the word).
4. Collective security to be dropped.
5. Recognition of Franco by Britain.
6. A western Four-Power-Pact—excluding the Soviet Union.

True, it was immediately officially denied in the House of Commons that such was the content of the Halifax-Hitler talks. But there are three consequences about which as little is being said as possible, namely, the effect on the Tories; the effect on the British Left (Labor and Liberal); the effect on the French government.

The Tory Party Conference in early October has reaffirmed its resolution against the giving away of any part of the British Empire. To meet this the *Times* flew kites in the shape of correspondence in its columns, followed by its editorial of October 28—"The Claim to Colonies," pleading for secrecy in negotiations, and then by its post-Berchtesgaden editorials which might have been viséd by Goebbels.

Liberal and Labor sentiment on the other hand, now thoroughly bemused as far as the House of Lords is concerned by the National government's propaganda of the war danger and the need for arms, fell into a trap and welcomed the Halifax conversations as a step to reconciliation. Thus the National government sought to have it both ways; to the Liberal-Labor groups it said: "We are prepared to discuss the offer of colonies to Germany in order to keep the peace";

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* Within a few weeks the British *charge d'affaires* had been instructed to withdraw from Hankow and proceed to Japanese-occupied Shanghai—just as the Ambassador in Spain was withdrawn from Madrid to Hendaye in the summer of 1936.

to the Tory chauvinists it said: "We are not prepared to discuss colonies till ten years have elapsed, in order to keep the British Empire."

For a little while the trick appeared to be succeeding; and it was only the Communist Party and its organ, the *Daily Worker*, which clearly exposed the meaning of the Hitler-Halifax conversations as an increased danger to peace and democracy.

With the French government the pro-fascists were not so successful. The government of the Front Populaire did not immediately fall into the snare. And consequently there came in December a certain halt in the Downing Street maneuvers. Further, some sections of the Liberal sentiment began to realize they were being duped; and Mr. Lloyd George in his December 2 speech to the Council of Action sought to revive a Liberal opposition to the National government maneuvers, putting the blame for "the very grave international situation" upon the National government and declaring that Britain must not enter into a thieves' bargain with those who were tearing up China, Ethiopia and Spain.

Thus there is still time to nullify the effect of the Halifax maneuver and to compel the National government to withdraw from this most dangerous step in a pro-fascist direction. But there will be no withdrawal unless the utmost mass pressure is brought to bear upon Neville Chamberlain and his colleagues, unless they are made to feel that however they may be ready to play the fascist game and to barter away the liberties of peoples, the working class of Britain and the masses of the British people are determined to be no parties to this criminal game.

An awakened sense of responsibility for the defense of democracy and peace among the masses of Britain would stop the little clique of pro-fascists who are seeking to make Britain the bulwark of reaction in Europe.

Trotskyism—the Mortal Enemy of the People's Front

BY FRANCISCO ANTON*

COMRADE Jose Diaz has repeatedly and forcibly stressed the need for intensifying the struggle against the enemies of the people.

"Our main care at the present moment," he said at the March plenum, "is to ensure the unity of the entire Spanish people, *i.e.*, the alliance of the proletariat with all supporters of progress, with all who desire to see Spain a prosperous and happy country. *But at the same time we must uncover and expose all enemies of the people, wherever they may hide themselves away.*"

And now one of the necessary conditions for the victory of our people must be the destruction, with an iron hand, of the agents of the enemy, spies, "the fifth column," Trotskyites traitors to the people, and profiteers.

"Several Red Army corps may be necessary to win a battle during war time," said Stalin. "But it only needs a few spies somewhere in the army headquarters or even in a divisional staff to steal the plan of operations and pass it on to the enemy for this gain to be lost. Thousands of people are required to build a big railway bridge, but a few people are sufficient to blow it up." **

The Trotskyites, masked agents of fascism, are just as dangerous as the armies of fascism.

The criminal adventure undertaken by Italian and German fascism with the aim of dividing up between themselves the territory of Spain and its riches, and to drive us into fascist slavery, has proved to be not quite so easy as the fascists imagined at the outset. They have come face to face with the people, who are compelling them to pay dearly for their attempt to destroy their liberty and independence.

The fascists are very well aware that on the field of battle our men are offering up and will continue to offer up insuperable resistance, and, therefore, they are, on the one hand, increasingly making use of the weakness, cowardice and even complicity of the democratic governments of Europe which are not only giving them a free hand but are helping them in their criminal work; and, on the other hand, they are resorting to espionage, treachery and organized wrecking, systematically operated through their Trotskyite agents and all kinds of provocateurs sent into our camp.

On our republican territory all our thoughts, our life and work, all our struggle are directed exclusively toward the task of crushing Franco.

Those people are mistaken who imagine that their spies, Trotskyite agents and provocateurs who disseminate defeatism will succeed in spreading panic, despair and demoralization among our people. They are mistaken if they imagine that they will succeed in achieving what they have failed to achieve

* Secretary of the Madrid Organization of the Communist Party; speech made at the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain, held November 13-16, 1937.

** Joseph Stalin, *Mastering Bolshevism*, p. 35. Workers Library Publishers, New York.

either at the front or from beyond our borders, by attacking us in the rear and by resorting to monstrous crimes.

The Spanish people are intensifying and will still further intensify their vigilance, with the same immeasurable hatred, with the same just determination as they are operating against open enemies in order to uncover criminals, spies, and Trotskyite provocateurs wherever they may attempt to hide, and to root them out mercilessly.

Comrade Stalin was a thousand times right when he asserted that:

"Trotskyism has ceased to be a political trend in the working class, that it has changed from the political trend in the working class which it was seven or eight years ago, into a frantic and unprincipled gang of wreckers, diversionists, spies, and murderers acting on the instructions of the intelligence services of foreign states." *

Some people imagine that these words of Stalin refer exclusively to the Soviet Union. Those who think so are committing a fatal error. The treacherous actions of the Trotskyites, who are ready to sell their country to the fascist warmongers and miscreants, are the main object in life of these scoundrels.

In Spain as well, at the moment when the whole people—Socialists, Anarchists, Communists, Republicans and all people belonging to no party at all who are thirsting for a just and free life—are engaged in a fierce struggle in the most difficult conditions, shedding streams of blood in defense of the unity, liberty and independence of their country, the Trotskyites who are in the service of Franco, Hitler and Mussolini are undermining our struggle, preparing defeat so as to hand us over, bound hand and foot, to the fascist oppressors and hangmen.

The facts go to prove that the Trotskyites in Spain have long been engaged in this abominable, criminal work, and that to the extent that difficulties have increased and decisive battles have approached, they have carried on more and more open propaganda of the enemies' slogans, striving to spread the spirit of defeatism, mistrust and schism among the masses, and have proceeded to undertake more intensive spying, provocative, wrecking and criminal work.

It will be sufficient, in order to prove the criminal role of these vile lackeys of fascism, to take only the most important and freshest of this endless chain of facts.

THE CRIMINAL MAY REVOLT IN BARCELONA

It took place at a time when the troops of Germany and Italy were just beginning their offensive on the Basque country.

The People's Army with every day that passed was offering up increasingly powerful resistance to the attacks of the fascist troops, and was even undertaking successful and powerful counter attacks and, as on the fields of Guadalajara, was preparing for further offensive action. The splitting efforts of the P.O.U.M. fell to pieces in face of the profound feeling of unity existing among all anti-fascists. The tireless work of the police smashed up all the plans of the "Fifth Column" one after the other.

In order to ensure success for their offensive in the North, the fascists had to smash the bloc of the anti-fascist forces and to weaken the position behind our lines.

Press campaigns and meetings, and "ultra-revolutionary" propaganda were no longer sufficient. What was needed was to pass to action. What was needed was to bring about a revolt in the rear, to persuade our men to leave their positions, and to create chaos in republican Spain. Fascism had to create such a situation so as to justify the landing of huge numbers of troops in Catalonia and Valencia, and to deal a crushing blow at the Spanish people.

The government, the Spanish people have sufficient proofs of the fact that the organizers, leaders, inciters of the uprising were P.O.U.M. Trotskyites acting on instructions of the interventionists and Franco.

* *Ibid.*, p. 14.

Long before the uprising they began to prepare to corresponding sentiments and conditions.

On March 22 *La Batalla,* organ of the P.O.U.M., wrote of the need "to establish a workers' and peasants' government by the seizure of power." At the same time the P.O.U.M. made active preparations for attacking the army and the people from the rear. *La Batalla* became transformed into the organ of the revolt. With greater fury than ever before it attacked the People's Front, the government, the Communist Party, the United Socialist Party of Catalonia, and the Soviet Union. The P.O.U.M. provocateurs carried on their work simultaneously in the barracks and at the front.

The P.O.U.M. openly raised the banner of armed revolt against the People's Front government. In a manifesto published on May 1, in *La Batalla,* it stated:

"On the first of May of this year the demand of the Spanish proletariat must be more extensive, namely, *power.*"

The development of events was hastened on. Fascism speeded up its lackeys and demanded immediate action. In a few hours the same newspaper *La Batalla* contained a sharper proclamation of the P.O.U.M. added to the first manifesto.

There are other circumstances as well which show the active part played by the P.O.U.M. in the criminal events of May in Catalonia. The following special statement can be read in *La Batalla* of May 1:

"All members of our Party attending the People's Military School, and appointed to various villages in Catalonia or to the front, are instructed to appear without delay on important business at the Military Executive Commission, at the following address: Rambla Estudios No. 10, premises of the Executive Committee."

Thus, the Military Commission of the P.O.U.M. mobilized its people. But how to carry this act of provocation to the front lines? *How to undermine real revolutionary enthusiasm, to demoralize the army and disorganize the front?*

In the same May 1 issue one can read the following words:

"There are quite sufficient tanks, airplanes, arms and money, but they don't want to hand them over to Catalonia . . . because we do not consider ourselves to be soldiers of an army *without color, without odor, without taste,* but consider ourselves to be fighters of the military front of the revolution."

But how to persuade the men to leave the front and engage in disorder?

"If Valencia refuses to give us money, if we cannot guarantee food and clothing for those who are at the front, then we are ready to strip the clothes off the bourgeoisie and rob them in the streets."

It was this atmosphere of provocation and with such preparations that they began the revolt.

THE CRIME OF THE P.O.U.M.

The entire reactionary and fascist press throughout the world spoke in those days of the "chaos" in Catalonia, of the "fall of the Valencia government," of the "proclamation of the independence of Catalonia."

At the same time the fascist radio stations in Salamanca and Saragossa were broadcasting slogans day and night corresponding to the slogans of the P.O.U.M.: "Don't let the arms out of your hands!" "Don't stop the struggle!" "Unite with your brothers at the front!" "Establish your own government!," etc.

In addition it is a known fact that in those days the enemy weakened their activity on the Aragon front, and that they had airplanes ready to be sent to the aid of the putschists.

In those days the "Committee of Control" in agreement with the fascist powers was preparing to allow the landing of troops in Catalonia and at other points along the Mediterranean Coast under the pretext of the need to "establish order." We know this, the government knows this as well, and now you will also know it since I will read you the following confidential report:

"According to reports received from various official and semi-official sources, we have been able to convince ourselves of the participation of agents of the German Gestapo and of the Italian 'Ovra' in the recent events in Catalonia. Gestapo and 'Ovra' agents in the embassies sent information without a break to official German and Italian organs which were carefully watching the events in Catalonia. We have become convinced of the existence of direct connections between Gestapo agents, 'Ovra' agents and the agents of Franco living in Friebourg, on the one hand, and Trotskyites and Catalan fascists on the other. It is well known that they have in the past smuggled and are now systematically smuggling arms and machine-guns over the Catalan border, and that objects of value have been sent from Catalonia and handed over to Spanish fascists abroad in payment of the arms sent by them. It is well known that the aim of the fascist agents was to do everything possible to make the putsch in Catalonia last as long as possible and so to enable the 'Committee of Control,' to interfere.

"It is well known that the German and Italian agents in the 'Committee of Control' spoke to Lord Plymouth of the need for landing troops in Catalonia and at several other points along the Mediterranean Coast so as to restore order in case the putsch should drag on. The fascist organs regarded the rapid liquidation of the Catalan putsch as a big defeat. It is well known that one of the Gestapo agents declared that the appointment of General Posas for the organization of the armed forces of Aragon was regarded as a most severe blow at the wrecking work done behind the lines, but that it was necessary in this connection to try out other methods for supplying the uncontrolled groups with arms. He also expressed his disappointment that the Aragon front did not fall to pieces despite the work begun in this direction, and he blamed the agents sent from abroad to carry on work in the ranks of the extremists for having failed to win the confidence of all the military chiefs of the Aragon front."

Such are the clear proofs that this plan was jointly and carefully drawn up by the P.O.U.M. and the fascists. It has been proved on the basis of documents found on fascist spies in Madrid and in P.O.U.M. premises, that the P.O.U.M.ists are working on the instructions of Franco and of Germano-Italian fascism. There are sufficient proofs to pillory with shame this gang of bandits.

What meaning can there be in their "ultra-revolutionary" slogans proclaimed at meetings and in their press, in face of such fully proved criminal activities?

These slogans can have only one absolutely clear significance, namely, that in order to make a success of their provocation, the provocateurs hid behind the most "revolutionary" phrases. These bandits besmirched the sacred concepts of socialism, proletarian revolution and the revolutionary army. But the power which the Trotskyites aimed to receive was actually power for Franco; the "socialism" which they had in mind was nothing more nor less than slavery and the severest oppression of our people, whom they wished to subordinate to the power of fascism; the "revolutionary army" which they stood for was an army that disrupted and robbed the rear; their "revolutionary workers' front" was the breaking of the People's Front and, consequently, civil war between the anti-fascist forces; the "control patrols" which they demanded meant "patrols" for the robbery of the civil population and for the murder of revolutionary workers. Our comrades Sese, Roldan and hundreds of Catalan anti-fascists met their deaths in the streets of Barcelona at the hands of the assassins and provocateurs who had penetrated into the ranks of rebellious "control patrols."

Nobody should attempt to confuse the Trotskyites with any political party or with any ideological tendency, even though they hide behind "ultra-revolutionary" slogans, the real counter-revolutionary essence of which has now been exposed.

Trotskyism has adopted this disguise and these methods in the past and is now continuing to do so in all countries, adapting them to local conditions.

In Spain, as throughout the world, the

Trotskyites are spies, provocateurs, agents of fascism, mortal enemies of the people, who must be wiped out.

TROTSKYITE SPIES IN THE SERVICE OF FRANCO, HITLER AND MUSSOLINI

Other proofs also exist which show this gang of counter-revolutionaries in their true colors.

During April and May, the police of Madrid succeeded in uncovering an extensive spying organization and in carrying through over 200 arrests.

Among the participants in this spying activity there are staff officers of the army, operating on the central fronts, and officers of the units of this army. This organization succeeded in penetrating into the National Republican Guard, the headquarters of the Army Medical Corps, the Intelligence Service Department of the War Ministry, the anti-aircraft defense department of the Ministry of Sea and Air Forces, the Red Cross, etc.

Its activity was very varied. It passed on confidential military information to the enemy, operative plans, information regarding the placement of batteries, etc. The investigation established the fact that:

"This organization not only carried on espionage work for the enemy, *but also, basing itself on its operative group and on well-organized connections with groups of extremists such as the P.O.U.M., was preparing an armed uprising at a suitable moment.*"

The roots of the May putsch in Catalonia and of all the undermining work of the P.O.U.M. are clearly to be seen here. It is now clear who is the leader of this gang of criminals!

Documents found on fascists arrested in Madrid provide more concrete data:

"On the back of a plan of Madrid, found on one of those arrested, the following words were written in special ink and in a special cipher: 'To be delivered to the Generalissimo personally. At the present time we are in a position to inform you of all that we know regarding the situation and the movements of the Red troops. The latest news reported by our radio station testifies to the serious improvement of our information service.'"

The population of Madrid now knows the explanation of the accurate fire of the German and Italian guns. With the aid of this marked map and the instructions given through the secret radio station, the fascists were able to take more exact aim and to score more accurate hits on objects pointed out by the Trotskyite spies who ought by now to have had more than their fill of the blood of the anti-fascists, shed as a result of their foul deeds.

From the remaining materials of the police investigation it is clear how serious was the danger of the armed revolt prepared in Madrid:

"The mustering of forces for the organization of a movement in the rear is dragging out somewhat. None the less we have at our disposal 400 men ready for action. These men are well armed and are in favorable positions on the Madrid front. The penetration of our people into the ranks of the extremists, Anarchists and P.O.U.M. is going on successfully. What we are lacking is a good propaganda leader capable of carrying on this work, independent of us, so as to make it possible to act with greater safety."

And further:

"*In fulfilment of your instructions I personally travelled to Barcelona so as to meet with a leading official of the P.O.U.M. I report all his statements. The absence of contacts between you and him is to be explained by accidents that occurred to the radio stations; a radio station renewed work while I was still there. You have very likely already received an answer regarding the main problem. N. urgently asks you and the foreign friends to ensure that I am the only person maintaining contact with him. He has promised to send new people to Madrid to stir up the activity of the P.O.U.M. Thanks to these efforts the P.O.U.M. will be able to be a firm and*

reliable buttress of our movement there, as in Barcelona."

This provides irrefutable proof of the connections between the P.O.U.M. and Franco. Who hides behind the letter N. mentioned in this report?

It is Andres Nin himself, the head of the gang. That is why he was arrested and tried.

And if Andres Nin has vanished, or to be more exact, if he has been "kidnapped" by fascist agents, this is added proof of his guilt, for the fascists want in this way to prevent the Spanish authorities from receiving new and more extensive proofs of their crimes.

But it was not Nin alone who was acting on Franco's instructions inside the P.O.U.M. *The P.O.U.M. in its entirety is in the service of fascism,* with the exception of workers deceived by the spies and traitors.

In the illegal sheet *La Batalla* of July 19 it states the following:

"Even if we accept the hypothesis that the accusation against our leaders of being spies and of maintaining contacts with Franco can be proved, then the most natural thing in this case is to subject the guilty ones to exemplary, rapid and public punishment, but not to attack the entire organization."

The treachery of the arrested P.O.U.M. leaders is so obvious that the P.O.U.M. scoundrels are compelled to admit their guilt, even if indirectly.

Why do the P.O.U.M.ists admit Nin's guilt? Because, in face of the glaring proofs of their guilt, they do not want their entire organization to be punished and so they sacrifice one of their bandits so as to enable the gang as a whole to continue their criminal work.

Everyone knows this artful trick. In the Soviet Union every group of Trotskyites that has been exposed has also declared that it alone was to blame and that it had no contacts with anybody else. By this means they wished to prevent the discovery of the entire counter-revolutionary organization, so as to enable those remaining at liberty to continue their wrecking, espionage and provocative work.

THE ENTIRE P.O.U.M. IS IN THE SERVICE OF FASCISM

In the document of the Madrid authorities just quoted by me it states that "it is a question not of a group of a local character, but of an entire organization with branches in almost all centers and provinces of republican Spain."

Not so very long ago our policies succeeded in discovering in Catalonia a big, most dangerous spying organization of a military type, *whose chief agents are P.O.U.M. members* directly connected with Franco's General Staff. Having penetrated into our military units they prepared an attack on the lives of one of the Ministers of the Republic and certain outstanding military leaders, and organized serious acts of sabotage and wrecking against the interests of our cause.

In the report of this discovery made by the chief of the Barcelona police to the press on October 23, it states the following:

"In the search that took place in the flat of R., one of the leading members of the organization, very important documents were found which, together with testimony of the above-mentioned member of this organization, go to prove that *one of the strongest cells of this spying organization was in the numerous and well-organized group of spies, members of the P.O.U.M."*

In a letter addressed to Franco's General Staff and found in the library of R's father during a search which took place on September 18 the following report is made:

"1. On August 26, the group led by agent C. 16 succeeded in putting out of order three pieces of artillery in N. division and four pieces of artillery in M. division, and all this at the decisive moment of the operations.

"2. Preparations were made to blow up the bridge over the Ebre.

"3. A military train arrived loaded

with arms [a detailed list of the arms is given].

"4. Information about the artillery on the Aragon front.

"5. The introduction of a new ration is used to stir up the population to take protest action.

"6. The preparation of attempts on the lives of important officials of the People's Army continues [names follow].

"7. Preparations for an attack on the life of a Republican Minister continue. It is proposed to make use of an opportunity when he goes out of town in an automobile."

For this purpose two automobiles were made ready in which individuals armed with hand grenades were to set off in pursuit of the Minister's automobile. The organization of the attempt was made the responsibility of two terrorists, members of the P.O.U.M., C. 18 and C. 23.

Attached to the letter is a sketch of a P.O.U.M. workshop where hand grenades are made.

Further investigation confirmed the correctness of the reports quoted.

In the letter above-mentioned, the leaders of the P.O.U.M. spying organization complained that they could not make use of the entire network of their agents since only two leading officials of this organization knew the entire list of the reliable members of the P.O.U.M., while they at the moment were in a Valencia jail awaiting trial by the Tribunal.

These new proofs expose the participation of P.O.U.M. members in the spying work and acts of provocation organized by Franco. In addition to which they serve as irrefutable proof of the fact that these terrorist bands not only make attacks on the lives of Communists but also attempt to assassinate the most outstanding leaders of the entire working class and popular movement in Spain. These assassins have hunted after Prieto, leader of the Socialist Party, because he occupies the post of Minister of National Defense.

This completely confirms the need for the entire people, for all anti-fascist organizations without exception to destroy these criminals ruthlessly.

The P.O.U.M. provocateurs are operating not only on the instructions of Franco and under his guidance. Here is a photographic copy of a letter found on the very premises of the P.O.U.M., it is a letter from an agent on the German Gestapo addressed to Andres Nin, personally. In this letter it states the following:

"Bayonne, July 12, 1937. To the Executive Committee of the P.O.U.M. I confirm my previous report. In the recent period in the group of the Lower Pyrenees of which we have spoken, disagreements have arisen of benefit to us, since they are the beginning—if we support them—of the establishment of a group of our party. The best in this group, including Walter, Bobinot, etc., who have decisive influence, have had a sharp conflict with elements from St. Jean de Luz, in connection with the fact that the latter are refusing to allocate people for a possible journey until they receive specific instructions from the C.N.T. We must see to the sending of the corresponding permission from the C.N.T., although the Bayonne people are preparing to scout out the ground in another place with people in whom they have confidence. In addition to this there is a very interesting statement: 'Let Barcelona send material and sufficient means to explain the position of the party, and then we shall work confidently and be able to gather a group together ready for anything.' Such, by the way, are the statements of 'those who have left' the party. But this is not all. The wife of Generalissimo Franco is in France. Do you confirm what you told us in your previous report about the possibility of her making a temporary journey to Barcelona? And what possibilities will this give us in relation to the following statement made by Bonnet about Kin: 'Therefore I insist on the need for rendering material and ideological support to this group which may be of great use; but for this we must arrange for Walter to go to Barcelona.'—C. has already established contact in Perpignan. It is difficult to send specific information to the place where I am setting off to today. Confirm the receipt of all this by wire and inform us whether you are carrying

it into practice. Greetings. Long live P.O.U.M.!—Ima."

The P.O.U.M. maintains direct contact with the bureau in St. Jean de Luz. As is well known, this bureau is a branch of the Gestapo, is Franco's espionage center in France. And the people mentioned in the letter are agents of the German espionage service.

These are documents of which the authorities are aware, and concern the recent period. Can the conclusion be drawn from this that the connections of the Spanish Trotskyites with our enemies have only begun just now? Not at all. Like the arch priest, the scoundrel Trotsky, the Spanish Trotskyites have maintained contacts with fascism for several years.

In a recently discovered letter, sent by the barrister Enrico De Angulo to Gil Robles when he was War Minister, there is the following passage:

"Dear Friend! An acquaintance from Barcelona, the lawyer Don Jose Maria Palles, who frequently goes abroad on business, where he is connected with important people of the international world, has informed me that he has the opportunity of entering into an agreement with Russian Whiteguard organizations, and with Trotskyites in Paris who will be able to inform him of the machinations of the Communists in relation to Spain. . . ."

The letter is accompanied by a list of questions on which the Russian Whites and Trotskyites propose to give information to the Spanish fascists:

"1. Information regarding the activity of the Spanish section of the Third International, regarding the leaders of this section, its instructors, their journeys abroad, and details of these journeys.

"2. Information regarding the system of correspondence between the Third International and Spain.

"3. Information regarding the illegal work of the Communist Party in Spain itself.

"4. Information regarding the attempts to establish a People's Front of Left Spanish parties under the leadership of the Communists and Third International and also regarding the measures of the People's Front in France which can have political consequences in Spain, etc."

Trotskyism is an international spying organization. Who are its agents in Spain? The Nins, Andrades, Gorkins who are openly connected with their French and other accomplices.

In the face of this extensive list of evidence and incontrovertible proofs of the treachery of the Trotskyites one may put the question to those who continue to defend them as to whether they continue the assertion that the question of Trotskyism is a private matter concerning only the Communist Party. There can be nothing more dangerous to the People's Front and to the existence of the republic than this fundamentally erroneous theory. The history of our struggle teaches us that there is nothing that concerns the Communist Party that does not affect the whole of the Spanish people, their liberty and their independence.

If we examine the case of Largo Caballero, we shall become convinced that in this respect also the statement was made —and there are those who are now continuing to assert—that the disagreements between the Communists and Largo Caballero only concern the Communists themselves. A long chain of facts, however, has shown that the Communists opposed Largo Caballero because his individualistic, completely erroneous policy was leading the Spanish people along the road to catastrophe. This policy was enabling all kinds of provocateurs, spies, and Gestapo agents who had assumed the garb of the P.O.U.M. to carry on their disruptive and provocative work in peace and without hindrance. It is not to be wondered at that the P.O.U.M.ists came to the defense of Caballero when our Party criticized him.

The question is now more than clear. It is now clear that the Communist Party was right. It is now clear that it was no accident that Largo Caballero was furiously opposed to any sentence on those who were to blame for the May putsch

in Catalonia; it is now clear why Largo Caballero defends the P.O.U.M. and is splitting the U.G.T.; why he is preparing to split his own party, and slanders those who do not follow him; why he is mobilizing the forces still under his control so as to disorganize the work of the People's Front government, etc., etc.

The workers in the U.G.T., the members of the Socialist Party can answer for us as to whether the ruinous policy of Largo Caballero is a question of concern to the Communists alone, or whether this question merits the attention of the entire Spanish people.

The struggle against Trotskyism must be a struggle of all anti-fascists. We must, without a moment's delay, deal blows at Trotskyism where it is still entrenched and in the places where it is provided with sanctuary by those who are ready to conclude an alliance with the devil himself if only to achieve their aims. People who make their main object the struggle against the Communist Party, people who are attempting to shake the confidence of the people in the People's Front and its government, people who are preparing to split the working class and anti-fascist movement, people who are helping the P.O.U.M.ists and defending them—such people, even though they do not call themselves fascists or Trotskyites are aiming at the same thing that they are—to prepare the defeat of the Spanish people. The indignation of the entire people must be aroused against them.

Was the Communist Party right or wrong when it uttered the warning of the danger and persistently and energetically demanded the adoption of all the necessary measures to deprive these enemies of the people of their liberty of action and to bring them to account for their crimes?

The Communist Party was right before, and it is right now. But we are not satisfied with the mere confirmation of our arguments. We want victory, liberty and well-being for our people, and if we continue to give them our advice it is to enable them to think it over carefully, and if it proves to be correct, as the facts prove, to enable them fearlessly to take the measures we demand for the crushing of this gang of spies and traitors.

OUR VICTORY DEMANDS THE PUNISHMENT OF THE TROTSKYITES AND ALL AGENTS OF THE "FIFTH COLUMN"

The lessons of the past must be utilized in order to correct defects and errors committed. In the interests of achieving victory over the enemy, our people demand that a beginning be finally made of a policy of resolute punishment of spies, provocateurs and defeatists wherever they may be. In the interests of our victory we must immediately put an end to the Trotskyites and all agents of the "Fifth Column."

The policy which enables provocateurs to carry through their criminal line must be ended.

One cannot calmly look on while the Trotskyites, these people who are chiefly responsible for the putsch in Catalonia, dare to hurl threats at us with impunity.

In Catalonia Trotskyite leaflets full of the most savage attacks on the government are being freely spread about. One of these leaflets ends with the following words:

"Hitherto the people have demanded the heads of Franco and Queipo De Llano. Very soon they will begin to demand the heads of Prieto and Comorera."

The leaflet is signed by "P.O.U.M. members" now in Barcelona jail.

It is still less permissible to enable them to pass from threats to action. Who, if not the Trotskyites, organized the recent attempt on the life of Comorera in Catalonia? They gave notice of it in advance, and went unpunished; they organized the May putsch in Catalonia, established their espionage system, and in return for it all have got away with a few arrests. Why should they not carry their threat into action by attempting the life of Comorera today, and tomorrow Prieto, Jose Diaz, Pasionaria, Negrin and other leaders of the Spanish people?

Enough sentimentalizing with crim-

inals, with those who, to top this, attempt in other countries to prevent the dispatch to us of the aid of which we are in need.

At the very time when the workers and anti-fascists of all countries are with growing insistance demanding that practical aid be given to republican Spain and are, with increasing intensity, mobilizing their ranks, overcoming the resistance of their governments so as to give us this aid, these friends of Nin, Andrade and Co., the Trotskyites of all lands, Messrs. Brockway, Marcel Pivert—are carrying on agitation among the workers, in Socialist and intellectual circles in France, Great Britain, the United States, etc., against aid being given to the republican government of Spain.

This is exactly what Hitler, Mussolini and Franco are mainly trying to achieve. They want to isolate us, to prevent us receiving international aid in our struggle against them. This is also the task of the whole of international reaction and international fascism, as is proved by the entire activity of the "Non-Intervention" Committee. This is the task of the Trotskyites, the most devoted and loyal servants of fascism in all countries.

Enough sentimentalizing and fussing about with Trotskyism which has systematically been preparing our defeat and murdering our people.

The task of all anti-fascists is to deprive the Trotskyites of all possibilities of carrying on their work, to smoke them out of all their lairs wherever they may be hiding, and to have them brought to trial, so that the Tribunal may settle accounts with them ruthlessly just as our men are doing every day with the enemy in the firing line.

The government must pay more heed to this insistent demand of the people. If the workers and anti-fascists of Spain see that the Trotskyite criminals and other "Fifth Column" scoundrels enter prison through one door and leave it through another, no living person or thing will be able to prevent the workers and anti-fascists, for the sake of victory over the enemy, from dealing with these mortal enemies of the people in such a way as to stop their provocative, wrecking and spying work continuing unhindered.

STEADFAST IRRECONCILABILITY TO THE ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE

The struggle against Trotskyism is not the private affair of the Communists; it is an urgent necessity for all the masses of the people bound up indissolubly with the winning of liberty and independence for our native land.

It goes without saying that the Communists must be in the front ranks of this struggle. Hitherto, and we can say this with pride, thanks to the self-sacrificing and persistent work of our Party which has explained to the masses the real counter-revolutionary character of the Trotskyite servants of fascism, we have succeeded in arousing among the workers and anti-fascists, as a whole, an ever-growing spirit of hatred towards this gang of spies, wreckers and criminals.

Our Party has long been sounding the alarm regarding the counter-revolutionary activity of the Trotskyites, and the need for rendering them harmless. As yesterday, so today, we are continuing, in spite of all, the exposure of Trotskyism until we succeed at last in showing it in its true colors as one of the mortal and most dangerous enemies of the people.

And as in other questions of our policy the masses have heard the voice of our Party. Thanks to the clearly expressed will of the masses of the people the P.O.U.M. has now been driven underground. The P.O.U.M.ists have already been driven out of many trade unions, provincial councils and other public bodies.

The Party has never wavered in its struggle against the enemies of the people. But, comrades, more vigilance and more readiness for struggle are needed now than ever before. None of us must think that all has already been done and that we can slow down our former pace!

On the contrary! Beginning with our Party we must increasingly strengthen

our activity and insistence and carry the masses along with us. We have the duty to better prepare our Party, and, with greater intensity, to sharpen its steadfast irreconcilability against these mortal enemies of ours.

To secure that all our Party members, to the last man, are permeated with this irreconcilability, we need to see that they are well acquainted with the methods and forms of work of the Trotskyites. We must explain to them that in the present conditions the Trotskyites will not remain in the narrow bounds of small groups for the development of their provocative work.

Our members must understand that the present line of the Trotskyites is to make their way behind the cover of "revolutionary" phrases into the anti-fascist organizations so as to be able to carry on their work in favor of fascism on a wide scale.

The trade unions and working class political parties are the objects of attack of these scoundrels. The examples of the life of other countries give us a clear picture of what constitutes their "activity" in these organizations. They corrode, weaken, split, and disarm the working class. Among others, the Belgian Youth organization and the Socialist Party of the U.S.A. can show the deep wounds torn on their bodies by the claws of these bandits.

In Spain it is the C.N.T. that is primarily suffering from the penetration of Trotskyism. It is precisely there that the Trotskyites find favorable ground for their activity. The newspapers of this organization have taken up a wrong attitude of solidarity and have in many cases warmly defended the P.O.U.M.ists; at the present time Trotskyite propaganda is developing unhindered in several C.N.T. organizations in Catalonia.

To be able the better to carry on their poisonous work and to serve the interests of fascism the Trotskyite leaders utilize the fact that some of them came from the Anarcho-Syndicalist camp to indulge in flattery of the National Confederation of Labor.

It was Andres Nin, chief spirit of Spanish Trotskyism, to whom belong the following words uttered at a meeting in Barcelona in the beginning of 1937:

"If the reformists' attacks are directed against the P.O.U.M. today then tomorrow these attacks will be directed against the C.N.T. which is the revolutionary expression of the wide masses. *The hope of the revolution depends on whether both these organizations, the C.N.T. and the P.O.U.M. succeed in coming to agreement and in jointly rising to the struggle.*"

While they indulge in flattery they are at the same time working to split and weaken the C.N.T., utilizing its worst, rottenest elements for this purpose.

On May 2, on the eve of the putsch in Catalonia, *La Batalla*, organ of the P.O.U.M., wrote the following:

"*We are solid with one of the Anarchist groups which is now waging a struggle against the governmental leaders of the C.N.T., and which has proclaimed the following slogans:* 'All power to the working class. All economic power to the trade unions.'"

The Anarchist group in question was the "Friends of Durruti" group which took an active part in the May putsch in Catalonia, a group swarming with provocateurs and fascist agents which was later resolutely turned down by the C.N.T. itself.

The significance of Nin's words is quite clear. The alliance with the C.N.T. is only a pretext and a means for splitting it, for compromising its name and traditions just as he did in May with such groups as the "Friends of Durruti" group by urging it on to participate in the putsch.

Do the Anarchists now really appreciate the meaning and possible significance of their connections with these gangs of spies and scoundrels?

We Communists are honestly desirous of the closest and most fraternal alliance with our Anarchist comrades, so that by fighting shoulder to shoulder in this war and overcoming all difficulties we are able later to reap the fruits of victory; but we cannot remain impartial

and calm when we know that our Anarchist comrades are menaced by such a terrible blow—and it would be a blow to us as well—as the danger of collapse and schism as a result of the activities of the Trotskyites.

Therefore we once again warn them in a friendly but persistent manner of the danger threatening them. And in the name of the interests of the war and our revolution, in the name of unity we take the liberty of asking them to hurry and rid themselves of the provocative elements who have made their way into their ranks, to take all steps as regards vigilance and safety, and thereby prevent the C.N.T. from becoming the arena of the experiments and maneuvers of these myrmidons of fascism.

Our Party comrades must in brotherly fashion help the Anarchist workers to guard themselves against contacts with Trotskyism and against its harmful influence.

In this way the task of uniting all anti-fascists will be rid of one of its chief obstacles.

Our Party must ensure that no less care and help are given to the youth. Inexperience and hot-headedness are attributes of the youth, and the poison of Trotskyism may bring about very profound devastation in their midst.

THE UNIFICATION OF THE YOUTH WILL ONLY BECOME POSSIBLE AFTER THE TROTSKYITES HAVE BEEN REMOVED

Side by side with systematically explaining to the youth the facts of the spying work, treachery and crimes of the Trotskyites, we must constantly remind them of the consequences for young people of contacts with the Trotskyites. As long as the Trotskyite elements felt themselves at home in the ranks of the youth, unity could not be brought about. It only needed the Trotskyites to be driven from their ranks, a resolute struggle to be declared against Trotskyite ideas, for unity to be rapidly achieved and a new youth organization began to grow at lightning speed which at the same time secured the ideological training of its members, thus preparing them for present-day battles and the great tasks ahead.

As long as the libertarian youth were under Trotskyite influence, the National Youth Alliance could not be established. After all this it is absolutely clear that the struggle for unity must be accompanied by a ruthless struggle against Trotskyism. Without such a struggle unity will always be in danger.

The most healthy physically, the most impulsive and the most heroic among our people are in the ranks of our youth. Tens of thousands of bayonets in the hands of young people bar the way to the fascist Phalangists. Fascism needs to divide the forces of our youth. Trotskyism is setting itself the task of fulfilling its master's orders. We must help the youth to ward off this great danger. We must fill them with the most furious hatred of the Trotskyites, because the Trotskyites are attempting to transform the happy future of which our young people are dreaming and for which they are fighting and dying in the trenches—a happy future, a future of free labor, education and healthy leisure—into a future of slavery, exploited labor, barbarism and lack of culture.

WE MUST NOT FORGET THAT THE TROTSKYITES WILL ALSO ATTEMPT TO WORM THEIR WAY INTO THE RANKS OF OUR PARTY AS WELL

Our Party has become transformed into a wide party of the working class, has become the firmest buttress of the People's Front. It enjoys tremendous authority among the masses; it is one of the most popular and most beloved parties.

In its ranks there are a considerable number of the best commanders of the People's Army, of the best workers engaged in industry and transport, of the most self-sacrificing and class-conscious agricultural workers and poor peasants, of the foremost representatives of the intellectual and artistic world, who are ardently devoted to the cause of the people.

To be called a Communist is the best recommendation in winning the confidence of the masses of the people. This is why the enemies of the people strive to arm themselves with our Party membership cards, so as to undermine from within the strength of their most irreconcilable accuser and most consistent defender of the real revolutionary interests of the masses.

There can be no doubt that our Party is not only called upon to expose and wipe out all hidden enemies who have wormed their way into its ranks, but also to prevent them from carrying through their criminal machinations. But just as this circumstance does not frighten us, neither should it lead us into dangerous carelessness. We must not forget that despite our vigilance, Trotskyites will attempt to make their way into our ranks, because to the extent that the Communist Party gathers strength without a break and remains a solid force, the Spanish people will advance on the road to victory. But Trotskyism wishes to see the defeat of our people.

The recent experience of the Soviet Union teaches us that the Communists must fight against excessive confidence and an absence of vigilance.

I would like to quote an extract from the letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. read out by Comrade Stalin in his splendid recent report:

"We must put an end to opportunist complacency arising from the mistaken presupposition that in proportion to the growth of our forces the enemy will grow ever tamer and more inoffensive. Such a presupposition is basically wrong. It is a belch of the Right deviation, which assured everyone that the enemies would quietly creep into socialism, that in the long run they would become real socialists. It is not the business of the Bolsheviks to rest on their laurels and stand around gaping. It is not complacency that we need but vigilance, real Bolshevik revolutionary vigilance. It must be remembered that the more desperate the position of the enemies, the more willing they will be to size on extreme measures as the only measures of doomed people in their struggle against Soviet power. We must remember this and be vigilant." *

Political carelessness, blindness and complacency are our worst evils. We must put an end to all of this because it has nothing in common with our Party.

On the contrary, vigilance so as to secure the stability and purity of the Party is the basic law of Bolshevism. We must secure that every Communist has firmly imprinted in his memory the advice of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.:

"An indispensable quality of every Bolshevik in the present conditions must be the ability to recognize the enemy of the Party no matter how well he be masked." To transform "the Party into an impregnable fortress into which not a single double-dealer could penetrate." **

No Trotskyite, no enemy of the people must obtain a Party membership card in the future due to an absence of vigilance in our Party. What is more, we must check up whether any unauthorized individual has succeeded in making his way into our ranks. The Party must occupy itself with a careful check-up of the present and past life of all those who give cause for even the slightest doubt.

Of course it would be a mistake to think that the struggle against Trotskyism ends with these measures.

This is only the beginning. Other measures are also necessary to give us a better guarantee of the purity of our Party's ranks. It is difficult for Trotskyism as such to carry on its work among us. But it will attempt indirectly to utilize the lack of experience of our younger and inexperienced comrades, to utilize all discontent.

Our Party is still a young Party which, side by side with the old, experienced and undoubtedly devoted Party members, has thousands of new members who

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* Joseph Stalin, *Mastering Bolshevism*, pp. 7-8, Workers Library Publishers, New York.

** *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

have come into its ranks and are filled with faith, enthusiasm and confidence in it. But many have brought with them their political prejudices, while others are still filled with an ideology alien to Bolshevism.

We are therefore bound to work unceasingly so as to do away with their mistaken views, doubts, hesitations. We must do this patiently, without hurrying about it, and gradually we shall succeed in reforming them, in changing their outlook.

Trotskyism will attempt to make use of the lack of understanding and honest feeling of impatience among many self-sacrificing fighters called forth by the delay in carrying through the policy of the People's Front.

The best guarantee against the enemy is the systematic operation of the policy of the People's Front.

Trotskyism is the mortal enemy of the People's Front. It cannot hide its hatred of it. And so, wherever our Party meets an individual who expresses even the slightest dissatisfaction with this policy, it must be on its guard and find out what is the matter. If we have to deal with a simple case of lack of understanding, then we must do everything possible to bring our erring comrade to the right road. If he continues to harp on his point, then we must pay special attention to him, because such an individual is either a Trotskyite or an individual who represents favorable ground for Trotskyite activity.

We must train our new forces, raise the ideological level of the entire Party. This is the best way to solve all our present tasks.

Stalin said:

"I think that if we were able, if we succeeded in giving ideological training to our Party cadres from top to bottom, and steeling them politically so that they can find their bearings with ease in the internal and international situation, if we succeeded in making of them fully mature Leninists and Marxists capable of solving the questions of the leadership of the country without making serious mistakes, then we can thereby solve nine-tenths of all our tasks." *

This is perfectly correct in relation to us as well. If we succeed in carefully training our forces and the whole of our Party; if we teach them correctly to understand our correct People's Front policy; if we teach them to face difficulties and to display the necessary patience, not to lose their heads, to seek better forms of development even in the most difficult conditions, then Trotskyism, in spite of all its efforts, will fail to carry through its criminal plans and we shall prepare the conditions for a certain and most rapid achievement of victory.

I shall read you another part of Comrade Stalin's speech regarding the utilization of personnel:

"We have tens of thousands of capable and talented people. It only needs to know them and promote them in time so that they should not remain in their old places too long and begin to rot. Seek and ye shall find." **

Why do I quote Stalin so frequently?

It is no accident that the Trotskyites have concentrated all their furious hatred against him.

By his irreconcilability to all kinds of ideologies alien to Bolshevism, by his constant vigilance towards spies and traitors who make their way into the revolutionary camp, he has mercilessly whipped counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, while at the same time showing the working class throughout the world the way to rid themselves of this sore.

The Trotskyite scoundrels are filled with a fierce hatred of him, but this hatred of theirs merely serves to increase the ardent love for him of the oppressed people throughout the world. And we are more than proud of the fact that we consider him to be our beloved teacher and leader, and we are always ready to make determined use of the lessons he gives us.

A most urgent duty is ours—namely,

* *Ibid.*, p. 36.
** *Ibid.*, p. 37.

to bring Trotskyism before the public court, the court of the masses.

Every Party unit must know about the criminal deeds of Trotskyism, the aims it pursues, the forms of its work, so that every Communist in his day-to-day work among the masses may be able to prove the urgent need of crushing these poisonous snakes.

The Trotskyites must be made to stand before the court of the entire anti-fascist people. Every anti-fascist, every organization of the People's Front must increase its vigilance and watch for every manifestation of the Trotskyites—the agents of fascism—so as still further to increase the hatred of the people and to develop the struggle against these real elements of the "Fifth Column." The struggle against the "Fifth Column" cannot be successful without a struggle against the Trotskyites who are its leading, active spearhead.

* * *

We are faced with the most difficult and decisive stage of our struggle. At this stage the future of our country must be finally solved. It is the design of the rapacious vultures of international fascism to divide our splendid rich country among themselves. The Spanish people, headed by the Communist Party, once again declares that the claws of fascism must be broken by the iron determination of our people who are ready to defend their liberty and independence.

To achieve this we must now more than ever before be certain of our own ranks; we must be certain that we are not being spied on, that we are not threatened with treachery in the hour of difficulty, that we are not threatened with being attacked from the rear.

We shall achieve this if we succeed in impressing our people with the need for dealing mercilessly with Trotskyism which, at the behest of fascism, is the chief force inspiring revolts, murders and treachery. The Spanish Trotskyites are in no way different from the Trotskyites in the Soviet Union who made a treacherous agreement with German and Japanese fascism to help them to enslave and divide up the splendid fatherland of socialism; who intended to murder the foremost people there and who actually did murder many of the best representatives of the Soviet people, such as Comrade Kirov; who, by criminal wrecking work are striving to wreck the lives and riches of the workers and peasants of the happiest and really free country of the earth.

Here in Spain the Trotskyites engage in espionage on orders from Franco and Germano-Italian fascism. They incite criminal revolts against the Spanish people; they give exact information to Franco's guns to enable them with greater certainty to murder hundreds of heroic anti-fascist fighters; they organize the murder of the leaders of the proletariat and anti-fascists of Spain; they work to prepare the defeat of the Spanish people and to enable the German and Italian fascist scoundrels to share our country between themselves and to drive the masses of the people into the worst slavery and the darkest ignorance.

We must mobilize all the attention of the masses against this gang of bandits and scoundrels devoid of all honor and conscience, so as to prevent them from entrenching themselves in any part of the country, and to ensure that the severest punishment of the people falls on their heads.

Thousands of anti-fascists have already perished as a result of these creatures, as a result of their spying and treacherous work. The Trotskyites must be rooted out of Spain if there are to be no more such victims, if we are to secure revenge for those who have perished, and if we are to overcome everything that threatens our victory.

Comrades, the responsibility lies on you of taking care to ensure that strengthened by a united will the unanimous call goes out throughout the country: "The poisonous hydra-head of Trotskyism must be crushed!"

The Trotskyite Agents of the Japanese Secret Service in China

BY FAN LING

". . . Trotskyism has ceased to be a political trend in the working class. . . . From the political trend in the working class that it was seven or eight years ago, Trotskyism has become a wild and unprincipled gang of wreckers, diversionists, spies and assassins, acting on the instructions of the intelligence services of foreign states." *

JAPANESE imperialism carries on military operations in China not only through the medium of its troops, but also with the aid of an army of spies, wreckers and assassins. The secret army operates throughout China in the endeavor to prevent the unification of the national forces of the country. The Trotskyite gang is one of the chief units of Japan's army of spies.

The Japanese aggressors understand that a tremendous force lies in the united national anti-Japanese front, in collaboration with the Kuomintang, the Communist Party and the other anti-Japanese organizations. This is why the aggressor is attempting at all costs to prevent this unification.

While the Chinese people are carrying on the heroic defense of their fatherland against the Japanese aggressors, a miserable handful of Chinese Trotskyites are carrying out the filthy instructions of the Japanese militarists. This Trotskyite gang is on the payroll of the Japanese intelligence, and on its instructions is fighting furiously against the growing united anti-Japanese national front. The Trotskyites are endeavoring to drive certain public men and political and military groups in China to betray their fatherland. They are doing everything possible to provoke internal war in China so as to undermine the unity of the country. Apart from this they are engaged directly in espionage, wrecking work, the assassination of anti-Japanese leaders, and treacherous plots in the Chinese rear.

The Communist Party of China is the initiator of the united national front. The Chinese Red Army, now reorganized as the 8th Route National Revolutionary Army, is one of the most efficient units of the Chinese armed forces; it has already won several victories over the enemy. This is why the Trotskyite agents of Japan are striving their utmost to bring to nought the collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, and the unity of China's armed forces, by resorting to acts of provocation and intrigues.

Not so long ago, in Kwangsi province, a gang of Trotskyites headed by Huan Gung-to, the secretary of the local government, made use of the opportunity afforded by the despatch of troops to the front to attempt the organization of a putsch designed to overthrow the provincial authorities and to capture the province. On the instructions of the Japanese aggressors, the plotters were trying to cause disorders in the Chinese rear in order to facilitate the advance

* Joseph Stalin, *Mastering Bolshevism*, p. 14. Workers Library Publishers, New York.

of the Japanese militarists upon the Shanghai and Northern fronts. The plot of the Trotskyites was a failure: twelve Trotskyite bandits and traitors to the fatherland were arrested and shot.

The attempt at a Trotskyite revolt in Kwangsi is by no means an accident or an isolated fact. From the very first day of the seizure of Manchuria by the Japanese imperialists, the Trotskyites have been openly on the side of the aggressors. All means have been utilized by them in the struggle against the Chinese people.

In the year 1932, the Trotskyites were against the defense of Shanghai. The Trotskyite bandits resorted at that time to all sorts of acts of provocation and carried on disruptive work among the population of Shanghai, wide masses of whom took part in the heroic defense of Shanghai and devotedly supported the Nineteenth People's Army, which was defending the city.

In 1932 a great anti-Japanese strike, covering 80,000 workers, spread throughout the Japanese textile works in Shanghai. The Trotskyite bandits joined with the Japanese police in attempting to break the strike. The Trotskyites organized plots on the lives of the strike leaders.

In the year 1933, when the anti-Japanese army was organized in Chahar province, Chang Mu-tao, a Trotskyite, wormed his way into the army and, playing on certain disagreements between this army and Nanking, put forward the treacherous slogan of a struggle against Chiang Kai-shek in alliance with Japan. It was later discovered that Chang Mu-tao supplied Japanese secret service agents with secret military information and carried on disruptive work to demoralize the army.

In the year 1934, when the people's government of the province of Fukiang and the Nineteenth Chinese Army came to agreement with the Chinese Red Army concerning the struggle against the Japanese aggressor, Pen Tse-shan, Tu We-sin and others tried to demoralize the Nineteenth Army. By various intrigues and acts of provocation they wished to seize the leadership of certain units of this army.

Trotskyite spies tried to penetrate into the ranks of the Red Army of China in order to disrupt it from within.

The Trotskyites Lu Yi-tse, Ho Sen-yan and others carried on disruptive work in the ranks of the Red Army; they spread lying rumors about the leaders of the Red Army. These traitors were unmasked and brought to trial as enemies of the Chinese people.

In the years 1935-36, when Japanese imperialism set about the preparation of new conquests in North China, the Japanese secret service organs increased their activities. The Trotskyist bandit Chang Mu-tao, agent of the Japanese secret service, and his accomplices were instructed by the Japanese "special department" to organize a "new party." Fifty thousand dollars a month were provided by the Japanese secret service for financing this party. Wang Ping, a Chinese Trotskyite, according to a report in the Japanese press, carried on negotiations in Shanghai regarding the organization of the "new party."

The chief of the Japanese police in China was engaged as intermediary between White Guards and Trotskyites in the negotiations regarding the establishment of a joint organization to serve the Japanese aggressors.

It is not without reason that the Japano-Manchurian paper *Sen Kin Si Bo* recognized that the White Guards and Trotskyites are working together "in accordance with the Japano-German pact."

During the events in Sian province, when China was menaced with the danger of a big internecine war, the Communist Party and the Red Army of China strained every effort toward a peaceful settlement. Chang Mu-tao, acting on the instructions of the Japanese secret service, arrived in Sian in order to provoke war between Nanking and Sian. This Trotskyite provocation failed. Chang Mu-tao organized the murder of Wan Yi-tsi, who had resolutely supported internal peace and the unity of the country for

the struggle against the Japanese aggressors. After this foul act Chang Mu-tao fled to Peiping and from there to Japan to report to his masters.

In Peiping and Tientsin, Trotskyites, together with pro-Japanese officials, established the "Tien-Chu society," the program of which is: "Struggle against Communism, struggle against Chiang Kai-shek, alliance with Japan." In Tai-yuan, capital of the province of Shansi, the Trotskyites organized a league for the struggle against the anti-Japanese movement.

In Peiping, the Japanese secret service organized classes for training of spies. The Trotskyites played a leading role at these classes; they were "teachers" there.

A "plan of work" of the "special department" (secret service) of Japan in Peiping has been published in the Chinese press. This document contained the following extremely "flattering" report of the disruptive work of the Trotskyites:

". . . The group of Trotskyites must be supported and their successes encouraged, in order that their activities in various parts of China may be of profit and use to the Empire, for these Chinese are the destroyers of the policy of uniting the country. Their work displays high technique and mastery."

No comment is needed.

It is not surprising that the Japanese militarists so highly value their servants, the Trotskyite spies and assassins, and do not stint them dollars and yen.

It should be pointed out that many public people in China do not appreciate the foul role of Trotskyism; they have not even taken account of the lessons of the Trotskyite plot in Kwangsi. A number of Trotskyite bandits, including the traitor Chen Tu-su, continue to carry on their vile work with impunity. Yet one of the basic conditions for the victory of the Chinese people in the struggle against the Japanese aggressors is a ruthless struggle against the Trotskyite agents of Japan, the crushing of this gang of criminals.

The struggle of the Chinese people to maintain their national independence, their freedom and their existence, cannot be separated from the struggle against the Trotskyite agents of the Japanese secret service.

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